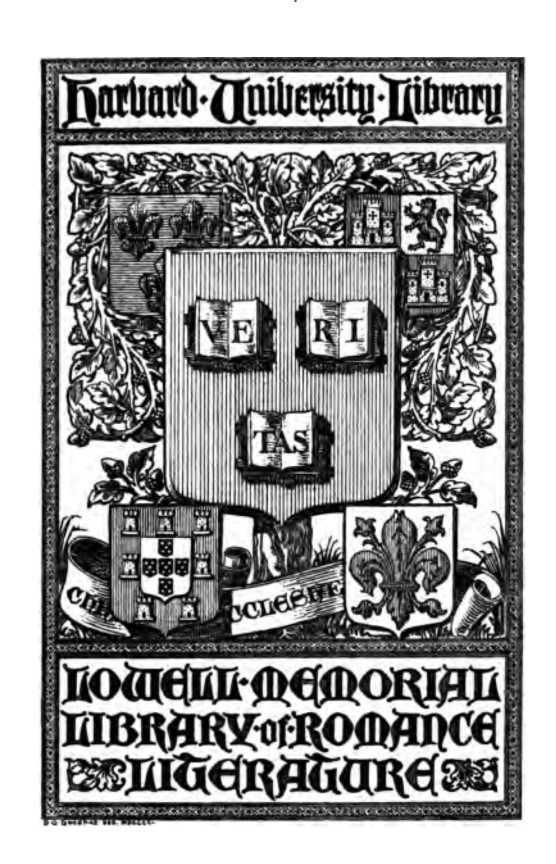
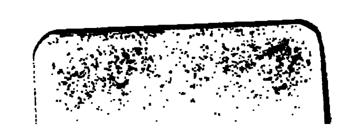



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DENIS PIRAMUS: "LA VIE SEINT EDMUNT"

(TWELFTH CENTURY)

A DISSERTATION

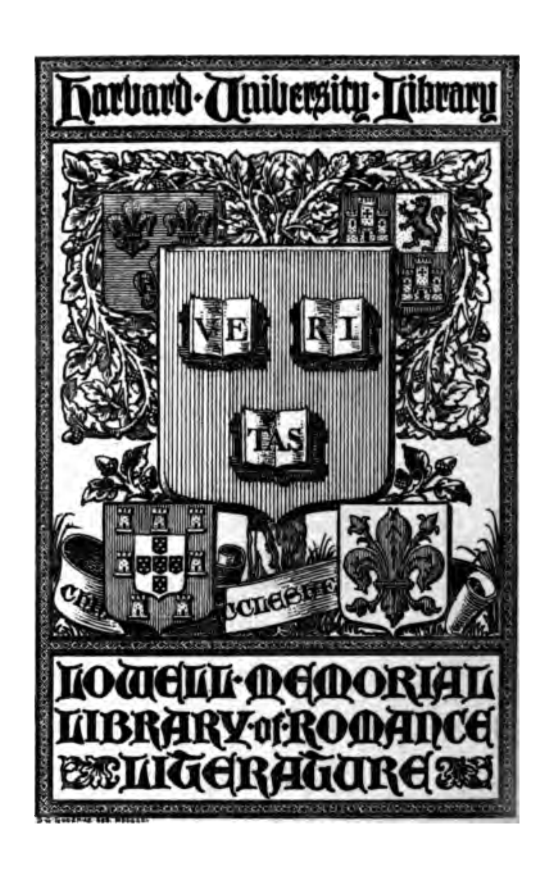
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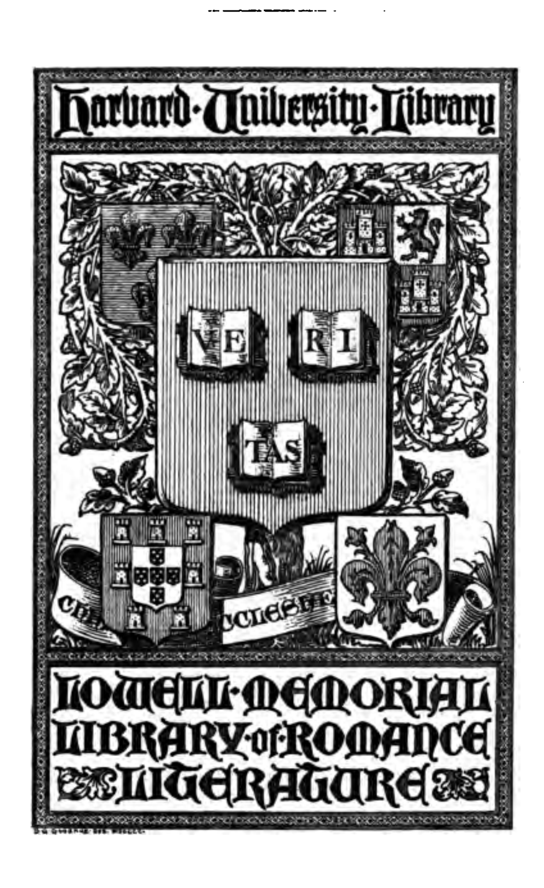
(DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES)

BY

HENRY E. HAXO

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Modern Philology, Vol. XII, Nos. 6 and 9
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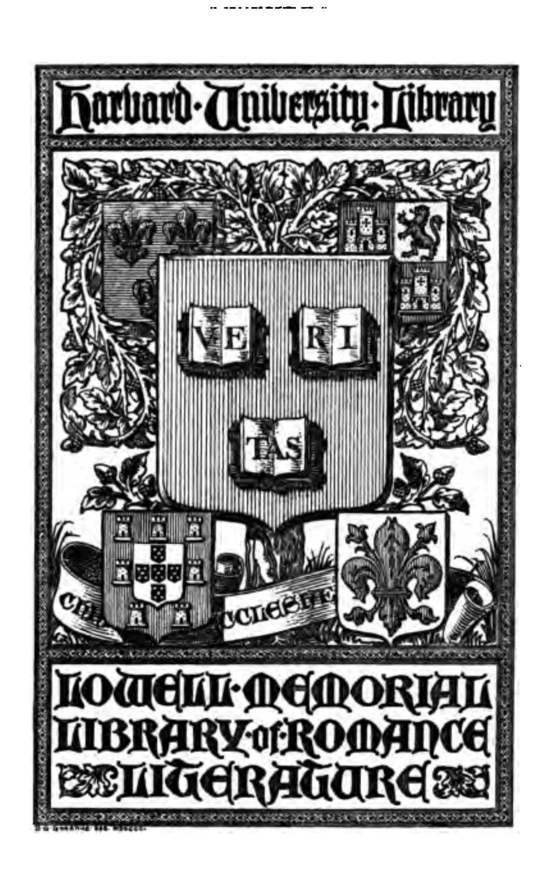
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TO THE MEMORY OF

JOHN ERNST MATZKE

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

CONTENTS

PREFATORY NOTE

The following work deals with the personality, language, and versification of Denis Piramus, the author of *La vie Seint Edmunt*. In the course of the study the question is raised as to whether Denis Piramus may have been a poet of continental origin who, like Frère Angier and possibly Marie de France, adopted the Anglo-Norman traits found in his language during a stay in England.

I take pleasure in expressing my indebtedness to Professor T. A. Jenkins of the University of Chicago for his aid and guidance in the pursuance of this work. I also wish to make grateful acknowledgment to Professor W. A. Nitze and Professor K. Pietsch of the same university for valuable suggestions and advice.

H. E. H.

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

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DENIS PIRAMUS: "LA VIE SEINT EDMUNT"

The only known MS extant of *La vie Seint Edmunt* of Denis Piramus is in the British Museum (Cott. MS Domit. A. XI) written in a hand of the thirteenth century.[1] The *Vie Seint Edmunt* numbers three complete editions:[2] the first by Thomas Arnold, in the *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, 1892, in the *Rolls Series*;[3] the second by Florence Leftwich Ravenel in *Bryn Mawr College Monographs*, 1906;[4] the third is included in the *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi* edited by Lord Francis Hervey, New York, 1907. This is based upon a new copy of the MS made under the supervision of Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum.[5]

The present work on the language of Denis Piramus rests mainly upon Lord Hervey's edition; the two others have also been carefully compared.

As it is stated by the author (ll. 3261 ff.), the French *Life of Saint Edmund* is a translation from English and Latin originals. The Latin sources most probably are:

1. From the end of the prologue to l. 432, Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, chiefly Book I, 16; Book XII, 15, 16, 19; Book VI, 15, 16, etc.; and Abbo of Fleury's *Passio*.[6]

2. From ll. 433 to 2018, *De infantia Sancti Eadmundi*, by Galfridus de Fontibus, written in the time of Abbot Ording, between 1148 and 1156.[7]

[1] For another French *Life of Saint Edmund*, cf. Paul Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 346, and *Romania*, XXXVI, 533 ff.

[2] The prologue of the poem was published by F. Michel in his *Rapports au ministre* in the *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, pp. 258–61, Paris 1839, and also by H. L. D. Ward in the *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 701 ff.

[3] Reviewed by G. Paris, *Romania*, XXII, 170.

[4] Reviewed by T. A. Jenkins, *Modern Language Notes*, XXII (1907), 194–96; by E. Faral, *Romania*, XLI, 446; by J. Vising, *Vollmöller's kritischer Jahresbericht*, XII, I, 211, II, 135; by Ed. Stengel, *ibid.*, IX, I, 145; and by J. Bonnard, *ibid.*, X, II, 106.

[5] Reviewed by J. Vising, *Vollmöller's kritischer Jahresbericht*, XII, II, 136.

[6] Cf. *Memorials*, I, 6–7.

[7] Cf. *Memorials*, I, 93–103; and Introd., pp. xxxiv and xxxv.

3. From ll. 2019 to 3260, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, by Abbo of Fleury, composed near the end of the eleventh century.[1]

4. From ll. 3261 to 3696, *Liber de miraculis Sancti Eadmundi*, by Herman the archdeacon, who probably was a monk at Bury.[2]

5. From l. 3697 to the end, Denis Piramus gives an account of Sweyn's invasion which is different from that of Herman. Outside of the *Saxon Chronicles* and Florence mentioned by Arnold,[3] he may have drawn his material from Symeon of Durham, *Historia regum*,[4] or from Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon,[5] or finally from a compilation made between 1148 and 1161 and known in the monastic world as the *Historia Saxonum vel Anglorum post obitum Bedae*.[6]

Thus far nothing is known of the English sources which Denis Piramus may have used. We have, however, in old English, a version of Abbo de Fleury's *Passion of Saint Edmund* by Aelfric, edited by Skeat, *Early English Text Society*, 1900, and reprinted in Lord Francis Hervey's *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, p. 60; yet, judging from the contents, the Latin original is the more probable source. As regards some possible English source of the *De infantia*, Arnold remarks[7] that "there must have been an English version of the *Infancy* lying before him, which is not now extant. This English *Life* may perhaps be indicated by some one among the titles of the works on the Edmundian story, not now existing, which are written on the margin of MS Bodl. 240,[8] e.g., the book of Bliburgh or *Alia Legenda*, or Nicholaus of Warengford, or H. Norwicensis."

We have no right to question the author's own statement as regards his use of English sources. Various details and passages which do not occur in the Latin may possibly have stood in the English. Considering the Latin sources only, Denis appears to have

[1] Cf. *Memorials*, I, 3–25, and Introd., pp. xxii–xxiv.

[2] Cf. *Memorials*, I, 26–92, and Introd., pp. xxviii–xxix.

[3] Cf. *Memorials*, II, 242 and 240, notes.

[4] Cf. *Semeonis Monachi opera omnia*, II, 139 ff., ed. by Arnold, London, 1885, Rolls Series.

[5] Cf. *History of the English*, Book VI, chap. iii ff., pp. 175 ff., ed. by Arnold, London, 1879, Rolls Series.

[6] Cf. W. Stubbs, *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, I, xxvi, London, 1868, Rolls Series; his *Historia Saxonum* appears almost *litteratim* in Roger of Hoveden's own *Chronicles*. Cf. W. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, I, xxvii, and 71 ff.

[7] Cf. *Memorials*, II, 228, note.

[8] *Memorials*, I, Introd., lxvi.

made a clever paraphrase of his original, and a good part of originality in handling his material must therefore be conceded to him. While he preserves the main outline, Denis adds interesting details or passages, as for instance, descriptions of sea-voyages (cf. ll. 175–218, 1365–1492, 2029–52, etc.), of battles (cf. ll. 3749–3849, etc.) enumerations (cf. ll. 83, 811, 965, 2877, etc.), dialogues (cf. ll. 857, 925, 1015, 1308, 1332, etc.); he introduces appropriate changes (cf. the messenger's speech and Edmund's reply, ll. 2247, 2303, 2319), and, as was to be expected in a work which was intended primarily to be recited, Denis indulges in lengthy narratives and in repetitions.

With regard to the foundation of St. Edmund's legend, Lord Hervey's illuminating preface to the *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi* ought to be consulted.

The Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, a convent of Benedictine monks, became so prominent that most chroniclers between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries make mention of it.[1] Its celebrity was not confined to England: Crestien de Troyes bears witness to this fact in the prologue to *Guillaume d'Angleterre* (ll. 11–17):

Qui les estoires d'Angleterre
Voldroit ancerchier et anquerre,
Une, qui mout fet bien a croire
Par ce que pleisanz est et voire,
An troveroit a Saint Esmoing. [*variant:* Esmont C.]
Se nus m'an demande tesmoing,
La l'aille querre se il viaut.

Wace also mentions it in several passages:

Cil de Surree e de Sussesse
De Saint Edmunt e de Sufoc
E de Norwiz e de Norfoc.
—*R. de Rou*, III, ll. 7736–38.

and also with regard to Sweyn's death:

Ceo dient cil de Saint Aedmund,
Ki en lur livres escrit l'unt,
Ke Saint Aedmund le flaela
Pur ses terres, que il greva.
—*R. de Rou*, III, ll. 1315–18.

[1] Cf. *Memorials*, I, xii. Only facts which concern the 12th century and bear upon our subject are mentioned here.

Jordan Fantosme tells us:

Kar n'ad meillur viandier de Saint Edmund en terre.
—*Chronique*, 1005.

Crestien de Troyes mentions St. Edmund's Abbey as the place where his *estoire* was found, and he adds: *La matiere si me conta, Uns miens conpainz, Rogiers, li cointes, Qui de maint preudome est acointes* (*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, ll. 3364–66). As to Crestien's reference to the English monastery, Foerster is of the opinion that it is "eine ganz allgemeine: da der Held ein König von England sein soll, so verweist er die Zweifler an das englische Königsarchiv, genau so wie ein Spielmann in einem karolingischen Heldengedicht seine Zuhörer auf die Chroniken von St. Denis verweist."[1] In regard to Rogier, Gröber supposed him to be the poet Rogier de Lisaïs.[2] Crestien's statement, however, could be taken literally, and Rogier may have been a wandering clerk, an inmate of St. Edmund's Abbey itself, for the following reasons:

In 1182[3] there was living at St. Edmund's Abbey a monk by the name of Rogerus de Hingham, or Hengheham, who was acting in the capacity of *cellerarius*. Toward 1159–1162[4] this Rogerus went to Rome in company of Samson, the future abbot. About 1160–61, or rather as Arnold thinks toward 1170,[5] Rogerus together with Samson, Dionisius, and Hugo are said to have been sent into exile to the priory of Castle Acre, founded by William de Warenne, first Earl of Surrey.

In view of these facts, either of two suggestions may be made: first, Rogerus, a Bury monk, on his way to Rome may have traveled through Flanders and stopped at the court of Thierri, or of Matthew, or of Philip, where he could have met the author of *Yvain* and acquainted the latter with St. Edmund's Abbey, the *estoire*, and with English place-names; second, in consideration of the fact that the House of Flanders was related to the Warennes,[6] Crestien may have

[1] Cf. Christian von Troyes Werke, *Wilhelmsleben*, IV, clxx.

[2] Cf. Grundriss, II, 524; W. Foerster, *Wilhelm von England*, pp. xxiv–xxv, Romanische Bibliothek, 1911.

[3] Cf. *Memorials*, I, 223 ff., 212, 254.

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, 254 and xliii.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, 212 and xliv and note.

[6] Mary, Abbess of Romsey, a sister of Earl William of Warrenne, last surviving son of King Stephen of Blois, married Matthew d'Alsace, younger brother of Thierri, Count

followed some prince connected with the Warennes over to England and resided for some time at Castle Acre where he came in contact with Rogerus then in exile. However this may be, the probable presence in Flanders or Champagne of Rogerus, a clerk of St. Edmund's Abbey at the time when *Guillaume d'Angleterre* was presumably written, is certainly significant.

St. Edmund's Abbey was above all a place where people went on pilgrimage. To mention only the frequent royal visits: in 1157, Henry II was crowned at Bury St. Edmund, the same king went there again in 1177, and also in 1188.[1] King John visited Bury in 1199, shortly after his coronation, and, says Jocelin,[2] *Hospitium suscepit, magnis celebratum expensis.* King John paid other visits in 1201 and in 1203.[3] In fact, the foundation and the subsequent growth of St. Edmund's Bury were mostly due to the generosity of English kings: Edmund, Canute, Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, and Stephen.[4]

Under such circumstances, close relations must have existed between the English kings and the Abbey, and the inmates of the convent may have been intimately connected at some time with the court and may of course have been of the same nationality as the kings. For, as J. H. Ramsay remarks:[5] "not only were all the upper classes of society essentially French, but their ranks were perpetually being recruited by foreigners imported from abroad. These people entered every chapter and convent, they filled the Episcopate, the Treasury, and the Bench, and found themselves completely at home there."

The latter statement is especially applicable, as it seems, to St. Edmund's Abbey. Some of the abbots who lived during the period that interests us are as follows: Baldwin (1065–98), the physician of Edward the Confessor, came from St. Denis, near Paris; Robert (1100), a son of Henry I's cousin, Hugh Lupus, was a monk of

of Flanders, and uncle of Philip, the protector of Crestien (cf. K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, I, 469; R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King II*, p. 50 [London, 1878]).

[1] Cf. Eyton, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 213, 285.

[2] Cf. *Cronica, Memorials*, I, 314–15.

[3] Cf. *Memorials, Annales Sancti Eadmundi*, II, 8, 12.

[4] Cf. *Memorials*, I, vii, xxvi, xxviii; Wace, *R. de Rou*, III, 5563.

[5] Cf. *The Angevin Empire* (London, 1903), Pref., p. vi.

St. Evroult, in Normandy; Albold (1114–19) had been a prior of St. Nicasius, at Meaux; Anselm (1121–48) was a nephew of Saint Anselm; Galfridus, in the *De infantia Sancti Eadmundi*, mentions that Ording, the next abbot (1148–56), was "attendant on the person of the king from boyhood." Arnold conjectures that the king referred to must have been Stephen of Blois.[1] Abbot Samson (1182–1211), whose life Thomas Carlyle retold so vividly in *Past and Present*, is said to have been confessor to King Henry II.[2] But the relations of the St. Edmund's monks and the kings of England are illustrated best in Jocelin's *Chronicles* and in the *Electio Hugonis*, both of which record the interference of Henry II, and later of King John, with the elections of Abbot Samson and of Abbot Hugh (1215).[3]

In 1193, when Richard I was in captivity in Germany, Abbot Samson visited the king and brought him many presents.[4]

That St. Edmund's Abbey was famous for its library, we have already learned from Crestien de Troyes. From Jocelin's interesting *Chronicles* it appears that the Latin classics were read by the monks. In Jocelin's work, along with frequent allusions to the Scriptures, there are quotations from Terence's *Phormio*, Horace's *Odes*, *Epodes*, *Ars poetica*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Tristia*, *Ars amatoria*, *Heroïdes*, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*. Needy clerks or scholars were also welcomed by Abbot Samson and found a pleasant home at the Benedictine Abbey.[5]

The authorship of *La vie Seint Edmunt* is claimed by Denis Piramus in two passages in his poem (ll. 16, 3279). Denis Piramus was at one time regarded as the author of the important romance *Partonopeus de Blois*;[6] but it was shown long ago that this was an error due to a misinterpretation.[7] Furthermore, a comparison of the language of *La vie Seint Edmunt* with that of *Partonopeus* would show that *La vie Seint Edmunt* and *Partonopeus* could not have been

[1] Cf. *Memorials*, I, xxx, xxxvi, xxxvii; 93, xxxv.

[2] Cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1846), III, 104.

[3] Cf. *Memorials*, I, 223–29; II, 29 ff.

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, I, 259.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, I, 209 ff., 247–49.

[6] Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 700 ff., gives a list of scholars who had adopted this view.

[7] Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, IV, 148; Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 700 ff.; Paul Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 346, note.

written by the same author. Of Denis' other poems alluded to in ll. 5 and 7, none, so far as we know, have come down to us. All that is now known about Denis Piramus is found in the prologue of his poem (ll. 1–94), and in another prologue to the second part which apparently was left unfinished (ll. 3261–86). These two interesting prologues are re-edited here:

I (ll. 1–94)

Mult ai usé cume pechiere
Ma vie en trop fole maniere,
E trop [par] ai usé ma vie
[E] en pechié e en folie.
Kant curt hanteie of les curties,
Si feseie les servanteis,
Chanceunetes, rimes, saluz
Entre les drues e les druz;
Mult me penai de tels vers fere,
K'assemble les peüsse trere
E k'ensemble fussent justez
Pur accomplir lur volentez.
Ceo me fist fere l'enemi,
Si me tinc ore a malbaili.
Jamés ne me burdera plus.
Jeo ai nun Denis Piramus;
Les jurs jolis de ma joenesce
S'en vunt, si trei jeo a veilesce;
Si est bien dreit ke me repente;
En altre ovre mettrai m'entente
Ke mult mieldre est a plus nutable.
[Si] Deus m'aït espiritable,
El la grace Seint Espirit
Seit ovek mei e si [m'] aït!
Cil ki *Partonopé* trova
E ki les vers fist e rima,
[Forment] se pena de bien dire;
Si dist bien de cele matire
Cume de fable e de menceunge;
La matire ressemble sunge,
Kar ceo ne pout unkes [mais] estre;
Si est il tenu pur bon mestre,
E les vers [en] sunt mult amez
E en cez riches curz loëz.
E Dame Marie altresi
Ki en rime fist e basti
E compassa les vers de lais
Ke ne sunt pas de tut verais;
E si en est el mult loée
E la rime par tut amée,
Kar mult l'aiment, si l'unt mult chier
Cunte, barun e chevalier;
E si en aiment mult l'escrit,
E lirel funt, si unt delit,
E si le funt sovent retreire.
Les lais suelent as dames pleire;
Les oient de joie e de gré,
Qu'il sunt sulum lur volenté.
Li rei li prince e li curtur,
Cunte, barun e vavassur
Aiment cuntes, chanceuns e fables
E bons diz qui sunt delitables,

MS 1 cum, pechere; 2 manere; 4 peche; 5 courte, hantey; 6 fesei; 7 chanceunettes; 9 teles; 10 puise, treire; 13 fit; 14 tynt; 15 burderay; 16 noun; 17 jolifs, joefnesce; 20 metterai; 22 Dieus, me ayde; 24 of, moy; 27 mult; 28 il; 29 cum, menteonge; 30 resemble, suonge; 31 put; 34 ces, curtes; 35 autresi; 37 compensa (see *List of Words*); 39 ele; 41 cher; 42 cunt, chivaler; 44 lire le; 45 les; 46 soleient; 47 De joye les oyent; 49 courtur; 50 cunt, vavasur; 52 bon, dilitables;

Kar il ostent e getent puer
Doel, enui e travail de quer,
E si funt ires ubliër
E del quer ostent le penser.
Kant cil e vus, segnur trestuit,
Amez tel ovre e tel deduit,
Si vus volez entendre a mei,
Jeo vus dirai par dreite fei
Un deduit qui mielz valt asez
Ke cez altres ke tant amez,
E plus delitable a oïr;
Si purrez les almes garir
E les cors garantir de hunte.
Mult deit hom bien oïr tel cunte;
Hom deit mult mielz a sen entendre
K'en folie le tens despendre.
Un deduit par vers vus dirai
Ke sunt de sen e si verai
K'unkes rien ne pout plus veir estre,
Kar bien le virent nostre ancestre,
E nus en aprés d'eir en eir
Avum bien veü que c'est veir,
Kar a noz tens est avenu
De ceste oevre meinte vertu.
Ceo que hom veit, ceo deit hom creire,
Kar ceo n'est pas sunge n'arveire
Les vers que vus dirai si sunt
Des enfances de Seint Edmunt
E des miracles altresi;
Unkes hom plus beals n'[en] oï.
Rei, duc, prince e empereür,
Cunte, barun e vavassur
Deivent bien a ceste oevre entendre,
Kar bon ensample i purrunt prendre.
Reis deit bien oïr d'altre rei
E l'ensample tenir a sei,
E duc de duc e quens de cunte,
Kant la reisun a bien amunte.
Les bones genz deivent amer
D'oïr retreire e recunter
Des bones gestes les estoires
E retenir en lur memories.

II (ll. 3261–86)

Translaté avum l'aventure,
Solum le livre e l'escripture,
De Seint Edmund, coment il vint
En Engleterre que il tint,
Dunt rei fu tant cum il vesqui,
E del martire qu'il sufri.
Translaté l'ai desqu'a la fin
E de l'engleis e del latin
Qu'en franceis le puissent entendre
li grant, [li meien] e li mendre.
Uncor volum avant aler
E les granz miracles cunter
Que nostre sire Jhesu Crist
Pur sue amur mustra e fist.
Dit en ai [une] grant partie
En sun martire e en sa vie,

53 hostent, gettent, penser; 54 travaile; 56 hostent; 60 dreit; 61 milez; 62 ces, autres; 65 garaunter; 66 homme; 67 homme; 69 dedut, dirray; 70 verray; 73 de eyr; 74 ceo est; 75 nos, aveneu; 76 cestre, verteu; 77 crere; 78 ne arveire; 79 dirray; 80 enfantes; 81 de, autresi; 82 homme, ne oy; 83 emperur; 84 cunt, vavasur; 86 il purrunt; 87 rei, de autre; 91 bons; 92 de oir; 93 bons gestes e les estoyres; 94 e retenir e lur.

MS 3264 Engletere; 3265 vesquit; 3266 martir, suffrit; 3267 desque; 3269 que en, poent; 3270 E li grant e li mendre (6 syll.); 3271 uncore; 3274 s'amur (7 syll.);

Meis ore vus dirai la sume;
Nel tinc pas a fais n'a grant sume.
Denis Piramus kil translate
Nel tient pas a fais n'a barate.
Li Seint Espirit me [dunt grace]
Ke jeo resnablement la face,
E gré me sache de ma peine
E Deus e Seint Edmund demeine
E de l'eglise li segnur
Ki m'unt enchargié cest labur!

3277 dirrai, summe; 3278 tint, ne, a summe; 3279 ad translate; 3280 ne a baratte; 3281 me seit grante; 3282 renablement; 3283 sace; 3284 Dieus; 3286 me unt.

The name Piramus coming from the classical story of *Piramus and Thisbe* already occurs in Crestien de Troyes, *Lancelot* 3821; otherwise this name is unusual. It appears also, however, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum* (IX, 8), where we are told about a "Piramus capellanus," Arthur's chaplain; Wace (*Brut* 9842) reproduces it as Pyram. It is found also as Pyrannus in Matthew of Westminster, as Pyramos in the Pseudo-Gildas.[1] Piramus may possibly be a variant of Piranus: St. Piranus, in turn, seems to be identical with the Irish saint, Kiranus.[2] We also find mention of a "Hugo Pirramus and Idonia his wife," as Ward pointed out, in the *Rotuli curiae regis* for 1199–1200.[3] It is, therefore, evident that Piramus with the Latin ending was used as a family name.[4]

Was Denis Piramus a courtier, a good knight, and a clever versifier of light songs who repented in his later years? Was he a clerk serving at court in the capacity of tutor or chaplain to some noble man or noble lady? Did he later withdraw from the court, possibly at the time of Henry II's troubles with Becket, and take refuge in St. Edmund's Abbey? Was he a wandering *trouvère* who finally stranded at St. Edmund's and was given a lodging there?

Judging from the contents of his *Vie Seint Edmunt*, Denis Piramus appears to have been a man of attainments. Not to mention his literary activities at court and his familiarity with Marie's *Lais* and with *Partonopeus de Blois*, Denis was conversant with Latin

[1] Cf. Gottfried von Monmouth, *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854, p. 379, note.

[2] Cf. *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, and San Marte, *op. cit.*, p. 379, note.

[3] Cf. *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 704; *Record Commission*, II, 146.

[4] Cf. The *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae*, ed. Th. Stapleton, London, 1844, and other *Rolls* of that time, show such names as Eudo Ruffus, Ricardus Canutus, Robertus Balduinus, etc. Cf. also Hugh Lupus, Duffus, etc.

and English (cf. l. 3268). His enthusiastic eulogy of *la clergie* (cf. ll. 1581–88) and his use of words such as *besorder, tresvasez* (cf. *List of Words*) may also point to a clerk.

Denis claims (l. 3285) that *li segnur de l'eglise* engaged him to write his work. The *eglise* referred to is evidently St. Edmund's Abbey. There he could most readily obtain the necessary data concerning St. Edmund's life. Jocelin[1] speaks of it in the same terms—*ecclesia Sancti Eadmundi.* "*Li segnur*" (*Domini ecclesiae*) were apparently the abbot, the prior, and the sub-prior, in short, the heads of the abbey.

The poem was apparently intended to be read or recited (cf. *ore oëz, Cristïene gent* 95, and so ll. 3074, 60, 79, 126, 3320, etc.) to an audience of nobles (cf. ll. 49–65). It was translated from the English and Latin:

> Qu'en franceis le puissent entendre
> Li grant, [li meien] e li mendre.

The intention of the *segnurs* is obvious: the translation may be said to have been ordered with a view to acquaint the Norman, Angevin, or Poitevin nobles with an English saint and martyr's life and deeds. The Abbey had become a well-known place of pilgrimage and was accustomed to receive guests of note. Was the *Life* written and read on the occasion of the visit of a particular prince? This is not impossible. A reading in the royal guests' language on St. Edmund's life would appear to be a most appropriate entertainment: it would advertise the abbey and prompt the French-speaking listeners to make valuable gifts.

To obtain further data about Denis, we should naturally examine closely the collected "Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey." But as Arnold remarked,[2] "the history of the community, and of any remarkable men who may have arisen in it from age to age is less easily ascertained"; and, further, "we rarely obtain any insight into the characters of the individual men who carried on the work from generation to generation." Yet it has escaped notice that mention is made of a certain "Magister Dionisius" in Jocelin's *Chronicles*,[3] where events are recorded which took place in the Abbey between 1173 and 1202, in the time of Abbots Hugh and Samson.

[1] Cf. *Memorials*, I, 209. [2] Cf. *ibid.*, I, vi. [3] Cf. *ibid.*, I, 209–336.

The omission of the surname "Piramus" need not surprise us. In Jocelin's *Chronicles*, the monks are usually mentioned by their first names only, for instance: Ricardus, Jocelinus, Robertus. This Magister Dionisius rose to such importance as to become a rival of Magister Samson at the time of the election of a new abbot, in 1182. He is spoken of on several occasions:

About 1173, during Abbot Hugh's time, Dionisius is said to have just returned from banishment—possibly from the priory of Castle Acre, a Cluniac institution, if my interpretation of Samson's speech be right—where he had been sent, along with Samson and others, because, as Samson is reported to have said, "locuti sumus pro communi bono ecclesiae nostrae contra voluntatem abbatis."[1]

In 1176 Dionisius performed the office of "cellerarius" and he is said to have reduced the convent debt "per providentiam suam et cautelam."[2]

In 1182 Dionisius was one of twelve monks who appeared before Henry II at Waltham for the purpose of electing a new abbot. At the king's order, the monks nominated three candidates. Samson was one of these, but as the king did not know any of the three, he bade them nominate three others, and so the nomination of Dionisius ensued. Later on, Samson and the prior were left as the only suitable nominees. Dionisius, acting as spokesman for all the deputies, commended both of them, but "semper in angulo sui sermonis Samsonem protulit," whereupon Samson was elected.[3]

The last mention of Dionisius appears in 1200. Here he is plainly opposed to Abbot Samson's misdeeds. It is recorded that Samson had sold a certain office to one of his own servants, and to quote Jocelin's words: "Unde et magistro Dionisio monacho dicenti, tale factum inauditum esse, respondit abbas, 'Non desinam facere voluntatem meam magis pro te, quam pro juvencello illo.' "[4] There is also a further mention of Magister Dionisius as appearing before the Curia regis in 1191.[5]

It seems permissible to identify Dionisius of the *Chronicles* with Denis Piramus of *La vie Seint Edmunt* for the following reasons:

[1] Cf. *ibid.*, I, 212.
[2] Cf. *ibid.*, I, 213.
[3] Cf. *ibid.*, I, 223–29.
[4] Cf. *ibid.*, I, 327–28.
[5] Cf. "Pedes Finium," *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* (London, 1894), XVII, 10.

1. The dates offer no objection. Denis may have left the Court and have entered St. Edmund's Abbey when Henry II had troubles with the church and Becket, in or about 1170.

2. In the *Chronicles*, Dionisius is mentioned as "Magister" and "Monachus," while in *La vie Seint Edmunt*, Denis Piramus appears to have been a court poet in his youth, and, later, a clerk and a scholar who wrote his poem at the request of the heads of the abbey.

3. In 1200, Dionisius must have been an elderly person, and Samson's reply leads one to make the same inference, since Dionisius is contrasted with a "juvencellus." In *La vie Seint Edmunt*, Denis Piramus tells us:

Les jurs jolis de ma joenesce
S'en vunt, si trei jeo a veilesce.

4. Dionisius and Denis Piramus stand out as upright, worthy persons. If, at the time of Abbot Samson's election, the proceedings at court were carried on in French, Dionisius may have been chosen as spokesman by his fellow-monks on account of his fluency in French, and because of his self-confidence, acquired during his stay at court.

5. It is also possible to admit that because of the friction which arose between him and Abbot Samson in or before 1220, Dionisius, if he be the same person as Denis Piramus, lost interest in his work, and, contrary to the desire of his *segnurs*, left unfinished the second part of his poem.

After 1200 no more is heard of Dionisius. In a list which mentions all the monks—62 in all—who stood for or against the election of Abbot Hugo, in 1214, the name Dionisius does not appear.[1] It may, therefore, be conjectured that Magister Dionisius either left the abbey or, what is more probable, died before 1214.

In the prologue we are told something about the author's stay at court and about his writing love-songs for the nobles. Apparently the court Denis refers to was that of Henry II and Aliénor; it is less likely that he refers to some baronial house of the period.

The *genres* of poetry which Denis claims to have written are worth examining. They plainly denote a Provençal origin or influence, and, considering the social relations between Anjou and

[1] Cf. *Memorials*, *Electio Hugonis*, II, 75–76.

Aquitaine, these poems are such as one might expect to find at the court of Anjou.

According to Gröber[1] *serventeis, chansonetes* (*rimes*), *et saluz* are supposed to mean "lyrische Texte von höfischer Art." The *serventeis,* to quote P. Meyer[2] "paraît désigner d'abord des poésies d'agrément, non pas, comme plus tard, des chansons religieuses. Comme en provençal, on a appliqué cette dénomination à des chansons ayant un caractère politique." "Poésie d'agrément" is evidently what *serventeis* means to Denis. It is found with this meaning as early as Wace and as late as Eustache Deschamps, who leaves out the *serventeis* in his *Art de dictier,*[3] "pour ce que c'est ouvrage qui se porte aux puis d'amours et que nobles hommes n'ont pas acoustumé de ce faire." As regards the origin of the *serventeis* P. Meyer remarks that "le mot a dû être créé dans le Midi," and further adds, "s'il en est ainsi, le mot *serventeis* serait l'un des plus anciens exemples de l'influence de la poésie des troubadours sur celle des trouvères." To write *serventeis,* as it seems, was a common thing early in the West, and Wace's verses justify this view:

Mais or puis je lunges penser,
Livres escrire e translater,
Faire rumanz e serventeis.

—*R. de Rou*, III, ll. 151–53.

Similarly in *R. de Rou*, II, l. 4148. As is known, Richard Cœur de Lion, the son of Aliénor, composed some.[4] Denis Piramus appears to have been one of the first western writers to mention these lyrical poems.

The *Salut*, or *Salut d'amour*, is defined by Raynouard[5] as "une pièce qui commençait par une salutation à la dame dont le poète faisait l'éloge." This genre is common to both French and Provençal literatures, but, as P. Meyer thinks,[6] it is unknown elsewhere, and, to quote his words, "je doute même qu'il ait été fréquent en Angleterre." He adds in a note, "le seul texte anglo-normand que

[1] Cf. *Grundriss*, II, 661.
[2] Cf. *Romania*, XIX, 28, 29.
[3] Cf. *Œuvres*, p. p. G. Raynaud, VII, 281.
[4] Cf. *Grundriss*, II, 661, 675.
[5] Cf. *Poésies des troubadours*, II, 258.
[6] Cf. *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 6e série, III (1867), p. 124.

j'aie recontré sur les Saluts est d'un poète du XIII[e] siècle, Denis Piramus." The *Salut* appeared first in Provençal in the twelfth century (before Rambaud d'Orange), and in French poetry a century later.[1]

In Provençal, the *chansonette*[2] appears with the first troubadour poet, William IX, Count of Poitiers, and later with Peirol, Raimon de Miraval.[3] In French, mention of it is made by Crestien de Troyes:

> Aussi con maint home divers
> Pueent ou chancenete ou vers
> Chanter a une concordance.
> —*Cligés*, ll. 2843–45.

We have *chansonettes* composed by Guiot de Provins, a protégé of William V, Count of Mâcon, by an anonymous author, and later by Raoul de Soissons, a friend of King Thiébaut of Navarre,[4] etc.

According to F. Wolf, *rime* appears to denote the octosyllabic riming couplet, and he thinks, "es scheint dass sie [the *trouvères*] durch *rime* vorzugsweise diese kurzen höfischen Reimpaare und die in dieser Form abgefassten Gedichte überhaupt bezeichnet haben."[5] Wolf admits that *rimes* in our poem is represented "als eine eigene besondere [Form]," but he adds "worunter wohl nur die höfischen Reimpaare zu verstehen sind." Yet *rimes* may have here a technical meaning and may refer to a special genre of love-song or light poem. The following instances would tend to support such a contention:

> J'ai fait fabliaus et contes, rimes et servantois
> Pour desduire la gent environ cui j'estois.
> —*Chastie Musart*, I, A. Tobler, *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, IX, 329.

> Et les leçons que chanter on y ose,
> Ce sont rondeaulx, ballades, virelais,
> Motz a plaisir, rithmes et triolletz,
> Lesquelz Venus apprend a retenir
> A un grand tas d'amoureux nouvelletz.
> —C. Marot, *Le temple de Cupido*, 327–31; *Œuvres*, ed. G. Guiffrey, II, 89.

[1] Cf. P. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 127.

[2] Cf. Diez, *Poesie der Troubadours*, pp. 110, 251; Raynouard, *Poésies des troubadours* II, 169.

[3] Cf. Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, 1; V, 284, 287; II, 164, 169.

[4] Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXIII, 611; W. Wackernagel, *Altfranzös. Lieder und Leiche*, pp. 25, 9; Mätzner, *Altfranzös. Lieder*, pp. 20, 163.

[5] Cf. *Über die Lais*, pp. 177–81, 162, 16.

In Provençal, *rim, rima,* and *rimeta* have the meaning of "poème," "petit poème." *Rimeta* occurs as early as Rambaud d'Orange:

En aital rimeta prima
M'agradon leu mot e prim.
—Raynouard, *Lex. roman.*

In Spanish, and Italian, as is known, *rima,* pl. *rimas, rime,* may refer to a metrical composition.

Our author's testimony as to the popularity of *Partonopeus de Blois* and of Marie's *Lais* corroborates the assumption that Henry II's court is the one referred to here. It was no doubt in courtly circles that Denis obtained his familiarity with the works of his contemporaries. As regards Marie de France, we know now with a high degree of probability in what relations she stood to Henry II and the royal family,[1] and we may suppose that her *Lais* were in vogue during the latter part of her half-brother's reign. Was Denis a fellow-poet in the royal circles where his more gifted rivals were outshining him in wit and genius? It is not impossible, for we find that when Denis is writing *La vie Seint Edmunt,* it is with a bit of spite mingled with regret that he looks upon the success of *Dame Marie* (cf. ll. 39–40), and of him *qui Partonopé trova* (cf. ll. 32–34).

Is there anything outside of the language which would tend to show that Denis Piramus had sojourned in France?

Evidently *La vie Seint Edmunt* was composed in England, yet it seems highly probable that the author must have lived on the Continent at some time for the following reasons:

1. His acquaintance with four types of love-songs of Provençal origin would be rather remarkable otherwise.

2. His knowledge of nautical terms and his delight in dwelling on the details of sea voyages indicate that he may have crossed the Channel more than once.

3. Another remark, of more doubtful value, may also be made. Success in the lyric poetry of a cultured and literary society presupposes on the part of the poet a familiarity with the *nuances* of the language, and also possibly the same dialectical pronunciation as the audience he is addressing. Conon de Béthune records for us the taunts he had to endure at the Court of Philippe Auguste's mother.

[1] Cf. J. C. Fox, *English Historical Review,* XXV (1910), 303–6; XXVI (1911), 317, 26; E. Faral, *Romania,* XXXIX, 625.

It is not too much to claim that only a young poet born of Norman or Angevin parents, whether in France or in England, would have met such requirements as these.

La vie Seint Edmunt has always been considered an Anglo-Norman poem.[1] The presence of the following traits supports this view: (1) silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus; see below, § 71; (2) non-agreement of the predicate adjective and participle, §§ 40–43; (3) substitution of the object for the subject not in the predicate, §§ 40–43; (4) reduction of *ie* to *e*, § 12; (5) use of *que* for *qui*, § 53.

Some reservations should be made for (1) and (4). As for (2) and (3), they are also found in continental writers. Here follows a summary of other linguistic traits shown by our text: (6) separation of *ọ* from *ŭ*, § 8; (7) separation of *ọ* from checked open *ǫ*, § 7, § 8; (8) confusion of *ọ*< checked ō (ŭ) and *ou*< free ō (ŭ) and ō (ŭ)+u̯, § 8; (9) *ue*< short ŏ rimes only with itself, § 16; (10) ŏ+ i̯ becomes *ui*:*nuit*, § 17; (11) no reduction of *ui* to *ŭ* or *i*, § 17; (12) Ĕ+i̯ becomes *i*:*delit*, § 6; (13) *iĕr*<-*ider* rimes with ẹ̄ only: *afiĕr*:*jurer* 878, § 12; (14) after *i*, ẹ̄< Latin tonic A becomes *ie*:*otreiier*, § 12; (15) separation of infinitives in *eir*< ERE from those in ẹ̄r< ARE, § 10, § 55; (16) separation of *ei* from *ai*, save in *vait*:*dreit*, § 9, § 10; (17) *ai* rimes with ę in the groups *-aistre*, *-ait*, *-ais* only, § 9; (18) separation of ę< checked Ĕ (AE) from ę̆< checked Ē (Ĭ) save before nasals, § 2, § 3; (19) separation of ẹ̄ from ę̆ and ę, § 4; (20) separation of *an* from *en*, § 18; (21) confusion of *ain* and *ein*, but not before *ñ*, § 22; (22) *iĕn* rimes with *ien*, § 23; (23) *uen* rimes with *en*, § 25; (24) separation of final *-z* and *-s*, § 30; (25) no conclusive instance to show that *s* has become silent before *t*, § 30; (26) no confusion of *n* and *ñ*, § 27; (27) disappearance of *l* in *ŭl*+con., l′ in *il′*+ con.; no evidence as to other groups, § 26; (28) no *e* in the ind. pres. I of conj. I, § 54; (29) no *e* in the subj. pres. 3 of conj. I, § 57; (30) endings *iŭm*, *iĕz* of the impf. and cond. are dissyllabic, § 54; (31) save in two doubtful cases, impfs. of conj. I. do not mix with those of other conjs., § 58; (32) preterite III in *-ié*, § 59; (33) subj. pres. in *-ge*, § 57; (34) enclitic use of the pronoun *le* after a verb, § 70.

[1] Cf. G. Paris, *La litt. franç. au M.-A.* (1905), § 148; Suchier, *St.-Auban*, p. 3; Vising, *Étude*, pp. 16–62; Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, p. 43.

The foregoing summary shows that, upon the whole, the language of Denis Piramus does not differ essentially from that of western continental poets. The phonology of our author, if it be compared with that of Anglo-Norman writers between approximately 1170 and 1210, as for instance Adgar, Fantosme, Simund de Freine, Chardri, stands out as remarkably pure.

I. In many respects Denis' language is similar to that of Marie de France. The following traits are also represented in her works: (2), (3), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (15), (16), (17), (18), (19), (20), (21), (22), (24), (25), (26), (27),[1] (28), (29), (30), (31).

II. Some traits appear in Benoît de Sainte-Maure: (2), (3), (4), (23), (32), (33), (34).

III. Guillaume le Clerc shows no reduction of *ui* to *i*, (11).

IV. *Partonopeus de Blois* shows the confusion of *ai* and *ei*, (16).

Considering the purity of Denis' phonology, which led Suchier to include *La vie Seint Edmunt* in the first Anglo-Norman period, considering also the facts which have been brought out with reference to the life of the author, it may be justifiable to conjecture that Denis Piramus, like Frère Angier, was a continental who went to England in his youth. In England he may have acquired the Anglo-Norman traits found in his language (the silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus, and the use of *que* for *qui*), or he may have preserved native characteristics which possibly became more marked during his stay on English soil (the reduction of *ie* to *e* and the disorganization of the case-flexion). We have a similar instance in Marie de France, whose language (I refer to the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz*) shows to what extent the poet of the *Lais* fell under the influence of the Anglo-Norman environment.

The attempt to determine Denis' dialect thus offers some difficulties, and may appear idle. Yet another suggestion may be made: as the language of our author agrees in many respects with that of Marie de France, it may be supposed that Denis Piramus came from the same region as Marie. If the latter be the same person as the Abbess of Shaftesbury, she was probably born in Maine, as her half-brother Henry II was. Hence, in such a case, Denis Piramus would

[1] In Marie, *l'* has disappeared in *il'*+cons., and *l* is vocalized in *sous*<SŌLUS, *genuz*< *GENŬCULOS. There is no evidence as to other groups.

come from Maine. Other traits, which have been indicated above, found also in southwestern authors, would tend to corroborate this view.

However tempting this conjecture may be, it must be borne in mind that in the case of *La vie Seint Edmunt* we may have to deal with a literary language used skilfully by an Anglo-Norman writer and that further data on the author's life and origin are not yet available. Consequently, for the present, we do not feel warranted in excluding *La vie Seint Edmunt* from the Anglo-Norman dialect.

Save Suchier, who classes it with the earliest Anglo-Norman monuments, that is, in the first period (till after 1150), scholars agree in dating *La vie Seint Edmunt* after 1180.[1]

If what has been said with reference to the life of the author and to the contents of the poem be taken into consideration, namely, (1) that Denis Piramus may be identified with Magister Dionisius of Jocelin's *Chronicles*, whose presence in the monastery from 1173 to 1220 is recorded and who probably died before 1214; (2) that some years must have elapsed for Marie's *Lais* to gain their vogue (the composition of Marie's poems referred to in the *Life* is set by Warnke at not before 1165, by Suchier between 1160 and 1170, and by G. Paris as late as 1180), it may be assumed that *La vie Seint Edmunt* could hardly have been written before 1175, or, if we accept G. Paris' dating of the *Lais*, before 1190.

LANGUAGE OF DENIS PIRAMUS

VOWELS

§ 1. *A*.—Both *al* and *el* from the Latin suffix -ALIS appear in our poem: *real*:*hospital* 627:*estal* 731, *seneschal*:*leal* 1725 but *hostel*:*espiritel* 2855. The MS shows *tel*, *quel* regularly.

§ 2. *Ę*.—French open ę does not rime with short ĕ̹, or with long ẹ̄: *tere*:*conquere* 207:*guere* 1424, *estre*:*ancestre* 71, *teste*:*beste* 2751, *batel*:*damisel* 1385, *apres*:*ades* 3507, *descovert*:*apert* 3967, *est*:*est* (East) 119. Out of 72 rimes, 65 are pure and 7 are mixed with *ai;* cf. § 9.

§ 3. *Ĕ̹* rimes only with itself: *chapelete*:*petitete* 2829, *joefnesce*:*veilesce* 17, *tramettent*:*demettent* 257, *conqueste*:*ceste* 1987, *prest*:*conquest* 277, *merveil*:

[1] Cf. *Ueber die "Vie de Seint Auban,"* p. 3; G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 38; *Litt. franç. au. M.A.* (1905), § 148; Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 646–47; P. Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 346; Th. Arnold, *Memorials*, II, 137; Mrs. Ravenel, *La vie Seint Edmund*, p. 53; Voretzsch, *Studium der Altfr. Lit.*, p. 147.

conseil 937. ę̆ is found once riming with *ai*<A+Ɪ *fet*:*net*<NĬTIDUM 661. This confusion occurs in incorrect lines, and it may be questioned whether it belongs to the author.

§ 4. *Ę̄*.—Save in a few instances where it rimes with *ie* (see § 12), ę̄ is not mixed in rime with any other sound: 33, 39, 47, 61, 91, 541, 1451, 2855, etc. The imperfect of *estre*, *ert*, and *erent* as usual have ę̄: *erent*:*doterent* 197, *ert*:*pert*<PARET 2548. By the side of the usual *e*, this sound is represented by *ee*: *neefes* 179, *deleez* 3548; by *ei*: *sueif* 1522, *neis* 1943, *melleies* 3755, *espeies* 3756; by *ie*: *nief* 1067, *clier* 3029, *deliez* 1505, *martelier* 3143; by *i*: *til* 656, *estroyr*, 3763. The MS shows *miest*<MANSIT 1569, *remist* 165, 2664, and *remistrent* 2462.

§ 5. *Atonic e.—Before the tonic syllable*: By the side of the regular spelling *e*, as in *chevalerie* 396, *chemin* 452, the following spellings are to be found: (1) *a*:*chaï* 390, *aparceurent* 2751, *orfanins* 1845; (2) *o*:*bosoigne* 1196, *poür* 2173, *roündes* 309; (3) *u*:*sulum* 48, *sujurner* 163, *sucurs* 2189; (4), *oi*:*boisoigne* 630; (5) *ie*:*sorcierie* 1934; (6) *i*:*chimin* 614, *gisir* 763, *chivals* 1054, *primier* 1674; (7) *ei*:*treissor* 912.

§ 6. *I* from various sources is found in rime only with itself: *vie*:*folie* 3, *païs*:*pis* 271, *pleisir*:*tenir* 523. Latin Ĕ+Ɪ rimes with *i*:*escrit*:*delit* 43:*lit* 1302. Latin -ĬTIAM and -ĬTIUM become *ise* (MS *ise*, *ice*):*eglise*:*justise* 463: *sacrefice* 2505:*servise* 3014. Latin MATĔRIAM shows *matire*:*dire* 28 and *matere*:*artere* 2709 (cf. Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, § 15*a*). The spelling *y*, *ei*, *ie* appear by the side of *i*:*ay* 1, *ayment* 51, etc., *chevalereie* 396, *fremierent*, 3612.

§ 7. *Ǫ* from Latin AU and Latin checked ŏ rimes with itself only: *or*:*tresor* 537, *fort*:*mort* 667, *choses*:*encloses* 1785. As in most continental poems, *mot*<MŬTTUM:*clot* 743 appears with *ọ*;[1] it rimes with *ọut*<HABUIT 2337, cf. § 15.

In tonic or pretonic position the usual spelling for this sound is *o*. It also appears as *ou*:*ouré*<AURATUM 190, *ouwel* 296, *voult* 840, *vouer* 1006; as *u*:*ublier* 55, *murir* 875, etc.

§ 8. *Ọ* and *Ou*.—*ọ* from Latin checked ō (ŭ), *ọu* from Latin free ō (ŭ), and Latin ō (ŭ)+Ụ have become close *ọ* in our text and are found riming together: *jour*:*gaaignoür* 241, *estrus*:*enviüs* 1879, *estrus*:*vus* 727, *vus*:*andus* (MS *andeus*) 1085.

Here we may associate Denis with Marie (cf. *Fabeln*, pp. lxxxii, lxxxvi), Benoît (cf. *R. de Troie*, pp. 121, 122), *Partonopeus* (cf. *amor*:*jor* 21, *vos*:*angoissos* 1509, *vos*:*los*<LŬPOS 8535).

Ọ is not found in rime with any other sound. The rime *peresceuz* (*perecos*):*venuz* 3854 is very doubtful and ought probably to be discarded because -*s* and -*z* do not rime with one another. *Perceüz* may possibly be read instead of *peresceuz* (cf. *List of Words*).

In the MS the tonic syllable *o* in or out of rime is represented by *ue*: *surs*:*curs* 1531; by *ou*: *pastour*:*treitour* 2117; by *eu*: *andeus*, 1086, *piteus*:

[1] Cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. xlv.

2447; by *o*:*laborent* 239, *pros* 3245. The spelling *u* is much the most common. In pretonic syllable it appears as *u*, *o*, and *ou;* *u* being more generally used than *o*.

§ 8. *Ū*.—The rimes in *ū* from various sources are pure: 15, 75, 145, 587, 1209, etc. By the side of the usual spelling *u*, the MS shows twice *ui* (*uy*):*druy* 618, *murmuire* 1534; and sometimes *eu*:*aveneu*:*verteu* 75. The parasitic *e* in the latter spelling may arise by analogy to words which have an *e* etymologically.[1]

§ 9. *Ai*.—The rimes in *ai* are mostly pure: *mais*:*fais* <FASCEM 143, *retreire*:*bon eire* 495, *enfrez*:*forfez* 1289. *Ai* in the groups *-aistre*, *-ait*, *-ais* rimes with ę from Latin checked Ĕ: *mestre*:*estre* 32, *veit*:*set* <SEPTEM 3850, *mes*:*apres* 1576.

Here Denis may be associated with Marie de France (cf. *Fabeln*, p. lxxxiii), Benoît de Ste. Maure (cf. *R. de Troie*, VI, 114), *Partonopeus* (cf. *mestre*:*estre* 929, *forest*:*trest* 744, *no -ait* group, *pes*:*apres* 919, *baisse*:*presse* 7483).

Ai is found once in rime with *ei*: *vait* (MS *veit*:*dreit* 785, possibly also in Marie de France (*espleit*:*fait El.* 223:*estait ib.* 337), and in the *Life of St. Osith* (*vait*:*dreit* 899). These rimes are not necessarily to be discarded as incorrect.[2]

According to Suchier (*op. cit.*, § 30*b*) in Anglo-Norman "*ei*, surtout devant *s*, *r*, *d*, *t* est passé à *ai* avant que l'ancien *ai* ne fût contracté en ę." With this fact in view, the presence of such rimes in Denis, Marie de France, and in the *Life of St. Osith* may be explained as being due to Anglo-Norman influence. On the other hand, these rimes may serve as evidence that the western or southwestern French dialect had an influence on the language of Denis and Marie.

The confusion of *ei* and *ai* is found frequently in *Partonopeus de Blois* (cf. *palais*:*deis* 4143: *queis* 5093: *maneis* 1847).[3] For the rime *fait* (MS *fet*):*net* 661; cf. § 3. As regards the spelling in rime-words, 42 appear with *ai;* 34 with *ei;* 31 with *e;* and 2 with *ie;* out of rime, in tonic or pretonic positions, *ei* is more frequently used than *ai* or *e*.

§ 10. *Ei*.—The rimes in *ei* are all pure: *rei*:*sei* 87, *dreit*:*esteit* 641, *anceis*:*reis* 1127, *aver*:*saver* 1645, *creire*:*arveire* 77, *veie*:*desreie* 319.

Ai+*l′* and *ei*+*l′* are kept separate: *soleil*:*vermeil* 1171: *conseil* 1266, *asaile*:*bataile* 1617, *vilanaile*:*rascaile* 2161. For the rime *veit*:*dreit* 785; cf. § 9. Excepting in a few instances, *ei* is the usual spelling for this sound; *e* appears occasionally. To be noted are: *lay*:*fay* 2677, *fiz* 1683, *moy* 24, 542, *consail*:*mervail* 938:*solail* 1265.

[1] Cf. Stimming, *Boeve de Haumtone*, p. 180.

[2] Cf. Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. lxxxiv; A. T. Baker, *Mod. Lang. Review* (1912), VII, 81.

[3] Cf. T. A. Jenkins, *Modern Philology* (1913), X, 448, who claims that *Partonopeus de Blois* "from trustworthy indications, belongs in the Loire valley, possibly in the region of the Sarthe."

§ 11. *Ęu.*—Latin DEŬS appears as *Dieus* in the MS. This spelling is to be ascribed to the copyist. The only rime where this word occurs indicates that *eu* is to be expected for the author: *Deu*:*Eliseu* <ELISEUM 3191.

§ 12. *Ie.*—The rimes in *ie* are for the most part pure. Out of the 4032 lines of *La vie Seint Edmunt*, there are 323 rimes in ę̄, 129 in *ie*, and 4 in ę̄ mixed with *ie*:*conseilier*:*gaimenter* 869, *justisier*:*mer* 1653, *enfundrer*:*drescier* 3133, *cessez*:*jugiez* 3189.

Of these four cases, *justisier* and *cessez* are not sure: *justisier* appears in a doubtful line, and it rimes elsewhere regularly with *-ier*:*mestier* 715, *dreituriers* 771; *cesser* rimes in the same poem regularly with ę̄:*demener* 3425, and *cessiez* may, therefore, stand for *laissiez*. Two other instances of confusion may be explained: *sazees* (:*cuntrees*) 416 stands for *asazees* and is regular; *eslisez* (:*preisiez*) 1061, Imperat 5 (*-ez* through the influence of the preceding *i* may become *iez*) ought to be included in the list of words which rime now with *ie*, now with ę̄: cf. *conseillez* (Imperat 5):*eslisez* 3525 (*Vie de St. Gilles*), *eslisiez* 275, 877 (Stengel, *Roland*), and also *prisiez*:*despisiez* 3564 (*Erec et Enide*), *avillier* in Marie de France (cf. *Fabeln*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv). There are, therefore, apparently only two sure instances of mixed rimes. It is to be noted that in these two cases of confusion *ie* comes from Latin *a* by Bartsch's law, and to quote Miss Pope (*Étude*, p. 57), "dans les dialectes du Sud-Ouest et en partie du Nord-Ouest, la loi de Bartsch ne s'opère pas: *ie* et *e* se trouvent mêlés dans l'*Epître de Saint Etienne*, dans le *Sponsus*, dans le *Saint Martin* et dans l'orthographe des chartes de toute cette partie de la France." Suchier (cf. *op. cit.*, § 29*e*) states that rimes of *ie* and ę̄ were not avoided scrupulously by Benoît and adds: "ce qui pourrait s'expliquer par son origine méridionale (Touraine)." G. Paris (cf. *Vie de St. Gilles*, p. xxiv) also admits that the confusion of *ie* and ę̄ is found, though rarely, in Norman texts of the twelfth century. In view of so small a proportion of mixed rimes, Jenkins thought (cf. *Modern Language Notes*, XXII, 195) that the exclusion of *La vie Seint Edmunt* from Suchier's first group could hardly be warranted. Our poem, however, must have been written at a later date.

-Iër from *-ider* rimes only with ę̄: *ubliër*:*penser* 55, *afiër*:*jurer* 878, *guiër*:*mer* 1344, *merciē*:*conquesté* 2974. In this particular rime Denis Piramus is to be classed with Wace, Marie de France, and Guillaume le Clerc.[1] It may be noted that instances of *-iier* from *-ier* are already found in Benoît, Ambroise, and Garnier. For Simund de Freine (end of the twelfth century) *-iër* in *fiër* appears to count for one syllable.

After an *i*, ę̄ from Latin tonic A becomes *ie*:*poplĭé*:*chacié* 325, *chier*:*otrĭer* 1327, *lĭé*:*enragié* 2373, *manïer*:*entier* 3221. The same development is to be found in Marie de France. This sound is usually represented by *ie* and *e* in almost the same proportion; *ee*, *ei*, and *i* appear rarely: *greef* 158, *lee* 174; *breif* 689, *peiz* 1435; *milz* 3022.

Cf. Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. lxxxiv; Suchier, *op. cit.*, § 17*d*.

§ 13. *Iu* (*ieu*).—Our text shows both *fié* and *fiu* in rime; *fiu*:*liu* 2915, *fié*:*leissié* 2850; and this associates Denis with the author of the *Roland*, Marie, Garnier and with the author of *Partonopeus* (cf. *fiu*:*liu* 1718, *fié*: *congié* 1195). *Lius* <LŎCUS rimes with *pius* <PIUS 624. The MS shows for Latin LŎCUM, JŎCUM, FŎCUM:*liu* 1531, *geu* 563, *feu* 2126.

§ 14. *Ǫi* and *ọi*.—In the few rimes found in our poem, the two sounds remain separate: *ọi*:*picois*:*chois* <KAUSJAN 3145; in the learned words which have *ǫ* for *ọ*: *estoire*:*gloire* 2503, *glorie*:*victorie* 3861; *ọi*:*croiz*:*voiz* 2393, 2448. The MS shows *conustre* for *conoistre* 589, 1929.

§ 15. *Ọu*.—The endings *-out* (*-ot*) of the imp. of the I conj. and the pret. of the III conj. is found in rime mainly with itself. *Penout*:*pout* 499, *parlout*:*sujournout* 1145, *desplout*:*out* 831; the MS shows *sorent*:*orent* 1594: *porent* 2820. This sound rimes once with *ǫ*: *mot*:*out* 2337. The same confusion appears also in Marie de France, Raoul de Houdan, Garnier (*Wolfenbüttel* MS), etc. and the author of *Partonopeus de Blois* (cf. *mot*:*sot* < SAPUIT 187).

§ 16. *Ue*.—*Ue* from Latin free ŏ and free ō (ŭ) before *p*, is found in rime with itself only: *estuet*:*puet* 1333, *foer*:*quoer* 1941, *ovre*:*recovre* < RECŬPERAT 2419, *broil*:*foil* 2697. *Penser*:*quer* 53 appears to be an incorrect rime due to the scribe.[1]

The rime *vesquens*:*tens* 3541 shows that ŏ+nasal had diphthongized. This sound is denoted by various spellings: by (1) *ue*:*estuet* 646, *puet* 2079; (2) *oe*:*estoet* 1003, *poet* 865, *poeple* 704; (3) *o*:*trovent* 219, *ovre* 1232, *iloc* 2155; (4) *u*:*iluc* 345, *put* 651, *murt* 652; (5) *ou*:*voult* 2223; (6) *oe* and *oi* before *l*: *doel* 54, *oil* 2331, *soil* 2332; (7) *e*: *nef* 2060.

For Latin CŎR, the MS shows *quer* 56, *quoer* 1942, *quor* 2284.

§ 17. *Ui*.—*Uei* from Latin ŏ+ɪ̯ is reduced to *ui* and rimes regularly with *ui* from other sources. All the rimes in *ui* are pure: *lui*:*ennui* 1391: *fui*:1696:*ambedui* 3444, *deduit* <DŬCTUM with ū of DŬCO:*trestuit* 58: *nuit* 1400, *tuit*:*nuit* 3307.

By the side of the usual spelling *ui*, *u* and *i* also appear. There is no evidence in rime-words of reduction of *ui* to *u* or to *i* as we find in Wace, Benoît, Marie. Guillaume le Clerc does not show any instance of reduction of *ui* to *i* and here we may class Denis with him.

[1] *Penser* is to be replaced by *puer*, for (1) the line is too long by one syllable, and (2) *puer* makes better sense; *geter puer* is a common O. Fr. expression.

§ 18. *An* and *en*.—The nasals *an* and *en* are not found riming together. *Talent* is the only word in our poem which hesitates: *talant:portant* 1460, *talent:noblement* 3948.[1] Latin EXEMPLUM appears as *ensample* 86, 88. In proper names, Latin free A followed by a nasal is preserved: *Balaan:rechan* 2733.

The spelling *aun* for *an* occurs only in *garauntir* 65. *Erraument* 963, 2271 may stand for *erralment*. By the side of *enceis* 1129, 1244, we have also *anceis* 1127, 3305 and *aincés* 329; *Engleis* 108 by the side of *Angleis* 368, etc.

§ 19. *In*.—The rimes in *in* are pure: *murine:famine* 141, *cosins:veisins* 425.

§ 20. *On*.—This sound is represented in stressed and unstressed positions by *u*, *o*, and *ou*. In stressed position *u* is by far more common than *o* and *ou*, in unstressed position *ou* is crowded out (except *bounté* 494), and *o* and *u* are the only forms used, *o* appearing, however, more frequently than *u*.

§ 21. *Ŭn*.—This sound rimes only with itself: *chescune:une* 115, *fumes:resceümes* 893, *comun:un* 2009.

§ 22. *Ain* and *ein*.—*Ai* and *ei*+*n* are mingled in rime: *peine:quinzeine* 991, *demeine:Romeine* 1193, *ceint:ateint* 409, *serein* (MS *serin*):*lendemain* 1461. The confusion of *ain* and *ein* is rather a western and not necessarily an Anglo-Norman trait. It is found in Benoît, Marie, and Garnier.[2] There is no instance of confusion of *ai* and *ei* before *ñ*: *chevetaignes:compaignes* 209, *Alemaigne:compaigne* 393; the forms from VĔNIAT and TĔNEAT rime only with themselves; cf. § 57.

§ 23. *Ien*.—The rimes in *ien* from Latin free Ĕ+nas. and from A after French I are pure: *biens:riens* 413, *celestïene:terïene* 1283, *bien: Achemenïen* 2204:*celestïen* 2514. *Ien* is not found riming with *en* as in Marie, Wace, and the *Eneas*.[3] For *nient*<NEC ENTEM cf. § 71. The MS shows sporadically *en* by the side of the usual spelling *ien*:*ben* 2513, 3341 *avent* 655, etc.

§ 24. *Oin* (*uoin*, *uein*).—*Oin* does not appear in rime. The usual spelling is *oin:point* 703, *loinz* 933. The following are to be noted: *luin* 1488, *puint* 2464, *son* (*soing*) 571, *lonteins* 1884, *queinte* 936, *aquente* 1125 by the side of *cointe* 510.

§ 25. *Uen*.—*Uen* appears a few times, and as in Wace and Benoît,[4] it rimes with *en*: *suens:buens* (MS *bons*) 1855; *vesquens:tens* 3541: *sens* 3670. The MS spells *ue* and *oe*.

[1] Cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, pp. 69–71.

[2] Cf. Suchier, *Grammatik*, §45b.

[3] *Ibid.*, § 47b.

[4] *Ibid.*, § 46b; Constans, *Roman de Troie*, VI, 116, 5.

CONSONANTS

§ 26. LIQUIDS:

L.—In the group *ūl*+cons, *l* has disappeared, though it appears in the MS: *nuls*:*plus* 350.

With regard to the other groups: *al*, *ẹ̄l*, *ę*l, *ę̄l*, *ọl*, *ǫl*+cons, etc. no rime shows that *l* was vocalized: *vassals*:*chevals* 1053, *dancels*:*bels* 475, *tolt*:*volt* 1787. The MS usually preserves *l*, but the vocalization appears occasionally: *autre* 201, *eus* 295, *vaut* 316, *sautier* 1396, *cheveuz* 3054, etc.

The following may also be noted, where *l* is not written: *saf* 525, *duz* 1534, *acuns* 2025, *cop* 2494, *acun* 121; cf. also *aultrui* 572, *haulz* 853 where *l* is represented twice. *L* rimes with *l'* in *feeil*:*conseil* 1101; this rime is of common occurrence on the Continent.[1]

L'.—In the group *il'*+*z*, the *l'* has disappeared: *fiz*:*marriz* 442:*diz* 513. There is no evidence of vocalization as to the other groups. The MS preserves *l*: *mielz* 67, *vielz* 2015, *oilz* 744, *ustilz*:*sutilz* 3127.

By the side of the usual spellings *ill*, *il*, *l'* is represented by *l*: *conselai* 1240, *orgulousement* 1964; by *li*:*meliurs* 1062, *valiant* 1634, *genuliuns* 3227; by *lli*:*genulliuns* 1506.

R.—Metathesis of *re* to *er* occurs in: *pernent* 218, *perneit* 3473, *pover* 818, *overs* 884, etc. In the MS double *r* is represented by *r* or *rr*: *tere* 130, *conquere* 207, *purrez* 64, *querre* 2343, etc.

§ 27. NASALS:

M and *N*.—Final *m* and *n* are found riming together: *faim*:*pain* 147, *parlum*:*barun* 1870. Final *n* after *r* has disappeared: *jur*:*emperoür* 1133, *retur*:*odur* 1873. There is no evidence to show that *n* and *ñ* are mixed in rime. In the few instances to be found, *ñ* rimes only with itself: *chevetaignes*:*compaignes* 209, *Alemaigne*:*compaigne* 393. *Demeine* <DOMINIUM rimes with *Romeine* 1194, *certeine* 1779.

Ñ is represented in medial position by *ign* (*ygn*): *Bretaigne* 128; by *in* (*yn*): *Bretaine* 207; by *ngn*:*cingnes* 472; by *ni*:*greniur* 553; by *igni*:*aigniel* 2799; by *gn*:*segnur* 672; by *n*:*enginez* 3800; by *nn*:*enginner* 3556.

In final position by *ing*:*poing* 2429; by *in*:*groin* 2756, *desdein* 3672; by *n*:*son* (*soing*) 571, *lin* (*lign*) 882; by *gne*:*desdegne* 1969.

§ 28. LABIALS:

Before the *s* of flexion, *f* and *p* are lost in: *paīs*:*vis* (MS *vifs*) 909:*poestis* 1029, *detries*:*chies* (MS *chefs*) 2026, *tens*:*vesquens* 3542, 4009.

The MS, however, usually preserves the consonant: *vifs* 1023, *niefs* 1039, *chefs* 2023, *escripture* 647; cf. also *psalmes* 3629, *columb* 1817, etc. Final *f* remains in *tref*:*nef* 1451, *chief*:*brief* 595, *salf* 525, *chalf* 3401. *P* is inserted between *m* and *n* in *Dampne Dieu* 550, *dampné* 950, *columpne* 2525. In the MS, *f* often stands for *v*:*joefne* 187, *chifaliers* 460, *nafrez* 3409, and *of*

[1] Cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, pp. xlix ff., and notes.

for *ov*: 5, 24, 987, 1090, 1164, 1655, 3574.[1] The meter calls for *ovek* 24, 3406 cf. *oveke(s)* 2660.

§ 29. DENTALS:

D, T.—Latin dentals isolated between two vowels have been lost: *vie:folie* 3, *felonie:envie* 3107. Dentals which have become final in French have disappeared in (1) substantives and verbal roots: *mei:fei* 59:*dei*< *DITUM 548, *vei* <*VIDO for VIDEO:*rei* 1234; (2) endings *e* <ATUM, *i* <ITUM, or palatal+ĒDEM, *u* <UTUM, UTEM.:*hé:osté* 1291, *servi:ci* 677, *merci* <MERCĒDEM:*ci* 1229, *Jhesu:purveü* 557, *vertu:dru* 1443; (3) preterites in *i*< -IVIT:*fini:di* <DICO 756, *s'estendi:miëdi* 1182; (4) preterites in *a* are found riming only with themselves and with *a* <HABET:*embla:ala* 351, *resembla:a* 2427. The following rime: *ja:departira* 1107 proves that *t* was lost; (5) strong preterites and other words with a fixed *t* are found riming only with themselves: *contredist:mist* 281; *vit:rit* 561, *Crist:conquist* 659, *plait: fait* 3651; (6) the name *Edmund* is attested in two forms: *Edmun:mesprisun* 3294, *Edmunt:sunt* 80; within the line the MS shows *Edmund;* (7) in *fu* <Latin FUIT:*Jhesu* 2202. Preterites in *-ut* rime only with themselves: *resceut:dut* 359, *parut:morut* 775, and always preserve their final *t* in spelling. In our poem, a *t* has been added to the ending *an* in *tirant* <TYRANNUM: *de meintenant* 2377. The addition of a *t* to such words occurs in Anglo-Norman as well as on the Continent.[2]

The *d* is preserved before *v* in: *vedve* 1119, *vedves* 2142, but it has disappeared in: *aversiers* 2186, *aversere* 2834.

§ 30. *S* and *Z.*—At the end of words, *s* and *z* are kept separate throughout our poem: *païs:pris* <PRETIUM 329, *dis* <DECEM:*apris* 3295, *asez:amez* 61. In *forz:cors* 2667 and *venuz:peresceuz* 3853, where the reading is doubtful, no safe conclusion can be drawn.

Jurs rimes with *plusurs* 3065. *Jurs* is also found in the *Eneas*, Benoît, Marie,[3] in *Partonopeus de Blois* (*jors:honors* 410:*mors* 437). PACEM and FASCEM show a final *s: pes:apres* 431, *fais:mais* 144. There is no evidence that *s* before *t* was silent for the author. The apparent confusion between the 3d sg. of preterite and imperfect subj., the past part., and 3d sg. ind. pres. brought in by the scribe does not exist for the author: *appellast: enbrasceast* 575, *resceust:dust* 559 are to be read without an *s; dist:despist* 2165, *dist:vist* 2655 stand for *dit* ind. pres.:*despit*, *dit* ind. pres.:*vit* perf.; *escrit*=*escrist* perf. (:*fist*) 3472; *rit* (:*vit*) 562 is a pres. ind.; as for *dit* p.p. (:*requist*) 1969, the reading is doubtful, and no safe conclusion can be drawn. On the other hand, the larger number of pure rimes in *-it, -ist, -ut, -ust* tends to prove that *s* was still pronounced for the author: *Crist:conquist* 659:*paraprist* 1571, *oüst:poüst* 2189, *fust* <FŪSTEM:*geüst* 2923. There are

[1] Cf. Stimming, *Boeve de Haumtone*, pp. 182, 220, 232. *Of* occurs also in Pierre de Langtoft, pp. 4, 6, 24, etc.

[2] Cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lxiii.

[3] Cf. Salverde de Grave, p. xix; Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. xciii; Constans, *Roman de Troie*, VI, 128.

indications in the MS of the silencing of *s: meime* 2629, *seintime* 2695, *almoniere* 577, *desrainer* 274, *detrenchier* 2018, *trepercent* 3769, etc.

The MS shows that the usual way of writing a single *s* for voiced *s* and double *s* for voiceless *s* is not observed: *asez* 294 (but *assez* 1086), *asise* 1215 (but *assise* 1202), *treissor* 912 (but *tresor* 538), etc. Voiceless *s* is sometimes represented by *sc: haltesce* 1267, *richesce* 1268, *drescier* 3984. Final *s* is sometimes left out: *de* for *des* 2141.

§ 31. *C* and *K*.—*C* disappears before flexional *s: gavelos:os* 2543, *enemis: païs* 336. The MS shows *c* at times: *gavelocs* 313. The various spellings representing this sound are: *k:kar* 31, *relikes* 3060; *qu:quoer* 1942, *queinte* 1187; *c: deluc* 260, *dunc* 3865.

§ 32. *C* (*ts*).—The usual spelling for this sound is *c: purchaciez* 1975, *prince* 1984, *face* 2757. Before *a*, *o*, *u*, an *e* follows *c: cea* 3804, *faceun* 3235, *aparceurent* 2751, but *hericuns* 231 and *hericiun* 2427. *Sc* before *e*, *i*, and *sce* before *a*, *u* also appear frequently: *resceit* 160, *adrescier* 1374, *enbrascea* 535, *resceut*, 3244.

§ 33. *QU*.—*Qu* in *que*, *quanque*, *qui* is found more frequently than *k*. *Kant* is more common than *quant*. *Unke* (*unkes*) is the only form used.

§ 34. *CH*(*tsh*).—This sound is denoted by *ch* regularly. The spelling *c* appears rarely: *carbun* 2129, *case* 2957, *sace* 3283, etc.

§ 35. *G*(*g*).—The *gu* from Germanic *w* appears as *g* before *a* and *gu* before *e*, *i*, and *a: garir* 64, *gast* 150, *guerpirent* 150, *guise* 2945, *guarisun* 161.

§ 36. *G* and *J* (*dz*).—*G* usually appears before *e* and *i: gent* 109, *salvagine* 168, but *jesque* 706, and *j* before *a*, *o*, *u: jurs* 17, *jurer* 877, *jadis* 3999. Before *a*, *ge* is found also: *chargea* 736, *geambes* 2408. *Chambes* 2763, *chalus* 3873 may be noted.

§ 37. *W*.—In the MS, according to the Anglo-Norman habit, consonantal *u* is sometimes represented by *w: ewe* 1343, *ensuwi* 2519; *w* is inserted occasionally between two vowels in hiatus: *ouwel* 296, *powes* 2753, *jowes* 2754. *W* appears also in *wacrant* 1468, *welcomer* 1530, etc.

§ 38. *H*.—The *h* is aspirated in *honte* 65, *halte* 102, *heriçuns* 231. Aspirated *h* is generally preserved: *hardi* 3381, *hauberc* 316. Cf. also § 72. Latin H is written in *honour* 262, *hospital* 628, *heir* 1286, but not in *eir* 73, *onur* 1980, *ost* 3366.

The MS shows an *h* in proper names and foreign words, especially after *t: Arthur* 137, *Northfolk* 417, *Lothebroc* 1880, etc.

§ 39. *Double consonants*.—The MS shows the following instances of double consonants, which, phonetically, are reduced regularly to a simple consonant in O.F.: *rr: dirrai* 69, *irrez* 726; *ll: apella* 1213, *mellees* 3755; *mm: homme* 67, *femme* 166, *summe* 929; *nn: donne* 161, *enpennez* 313; *bb: abbez* 966; *dd: redde* 1777, *sudduiant* 2675; *cc: occis* 346, *acceptable* 719; *ff: suffreitus* 632, *offri* 3098; *tt: gettent* 53, *chapelette* 2829.

§ 40. DECLENSION: *Substantives, adjectives, participles*.—Though the old system is often preserved intact, the tendency toward leveling the declen-

sions in favor of the objective case is very evident in our poem. This tendency appears chiefly in the case of nouns, adjectives, and participles in the predicate.

Masculines in the singular: The nom. sing. preserves its etymological *s: reis:deis* 479, *enemis:apris* 2177; also 350, 1128, 1308, 2440, etc., or appears with the accusative form: *pelerin:Costentin* 788, *rei:sei* 2181; also 452, 502, 1472, 2317, 3673, etc. Infinitives used as nouns have no flexional *s* in the nom. sing.: *cumbatre:quatre* 296, and so 495. *Crist* 659, 3006 has no *s* in the nom. sing. *Fiz* has a *z* in the acc. sing. 907, and in the nom. pl. 1903.

Masculines in the plural: A large majority of masculines in the nom. pl. appear regularly without *s: marinier:drescier* 1373, *barun:contenciün* 1599; also 42, 136, 154, 187, 287, 365, etc.; but *-s* is assured by the rime in: *aversiers:muliers* 2148, *tiranz:païsanz* 2157; also 209, 375, 1047, 1595, 2399, 3066, 3089, 3912.

§ 41. Nominatives of the II and III declensions are found in the rime without analogical *-s: ber:mer* 1371, *mestre:estre* 1934, *sire:cuntredire* 3614; also 1323, 1789, 1950, etc. *Sires:empires* 3259 may be read without *s*. The meter demands *mestre* 2793, *sire* 980, 1602, but *sires* 159.

HŏMO becomes regularly in the nom. sing. *hom:Haïlesdun* 2176, acc. sing. *home:Rome* 1137; nom. pl. *prodome:some* 3881; acc. pl. *homes* 782. The MS usually shows the spellings *homme* and *hommes*. *Home* appears to be used (nom.) in the predicate in 2266; *home* for the nom. in 1537, 2214, 3482, 3745 is not sure, since *regné, jesques, sages, riches* in each respective line may be read instead of *regne* and the forms without *s;* in l. 2933, *jesqu'* is to be inserted between *hom* and *a*. Cf. 1537, 3494.

§ 42. The Vocative of the II and III declensions is found without an *s: mestre:estre* 925, *gent:omnipotent* 95. The *s* of I appears in *amis:païs* 3997, but is omitted in *rei:purquei* 943, and also 533, 1233, etc. In the pl. we have *amis:languis* 673, *segnurs:plurs* 1332.

§ 43. Nouns, adjectives, past participles in the predicate appear in the sing., either with the flexional *s* or with the accusative form without *s*. Nouns (1) with *-s:* 107, 2234; (2) no *-s:* 259, 695, 706, 1265, etc. Adjectives (1) with *-s:* 441, 886, 1330, 1652, 2472, etc.; (2) no *-s:* 146, 439, 510, 1580, 1634, 2856, etc. Past participles (1) with *-s:* 725, 2479, 2538, 3007, etc.; (2) no *-s:* 582, 2252, 2525, 2542, etc.

The nom. pl. of adj. and participle in the predicate appear with or without the *-s* of flexion. The form without *s* is assured by the rime more frequently. Instances of nouns are few. Nouns: (1) no *-s* 242; (2) with *-s* 3791. Adj.: (1) no *-s:* 70, 174, 1100, 1101, 1453, 3752, etc.; (2) with *-s:* 38, 52, 1029, 1078, etc. Past participles: (1) no *-s:* 216, 226, 950, 1473, 1480, 1773, etc.; (2) with *-s:* 293, 976, 1076, 1904, 2835, etc.

The acc. is used for the nominative also (1) in apposition to a noun, a verb: 363, 962, 973, 2113, 2181, 3222, 3476, 3995, etc.; (2) after *cum* (*cume*): 1727, 2799, 3780.

The non-agreement of the predicate adj. and participle is to be found in Marie de France (cf. *Fabeln*, pp. lxxxvii ff.; *Espurg.* pp. 47–48; *Romania*, XXIV, 294), and especially in Benoît de Sainte Maure (cf. *R. de Troie*, VI, 147 ff.).

The use of the object for the subject not in the predicate also appears in Marie de France (cf. *Espurg.*, p. 43; *Romania*, XXIV, 294), and in Benoît de Sainte Maure (cf. *R. de Troie*, VI, 149), "très souvent comme nom sujet," according to Constans.

On the ground that the *Espurgatoire* shows a larger number of cases of substitution of the object for the subject than the *Lais*, G. Paris (*Romania*, XXIV, 294) regarded the former as a later work, and he accounted for this difference in the language as being due to the fact that the *Espurgatoire* had undergone "plus profondément l'influence du milieu anglo-normand." The same argument may apply to Denis' language. Yet this is not exclusively an Anglo-Norman trait, since it presents itself so frequently and so prominently in Benoît.[1] Here it may be questioned whether, in the case of Marie de France and Denis, we may not have to deal with a southwestern trait which they adopted and preserved, and which later possibly developed during their stay in England.

§ 44. Fem. nouns of the II Declension have in the nom. sing. either the old form without *-s* (*-z*) or the analogical form with *-s* (*-z*). No *-s: mer:habiter* 406, *gent:apent* 1421, *flairur:odur* 1863; with *s: riens:biens* 414, *flairurs:flurs* 3302.

§ 45. Fem. adj. and participle with *estre* agree regularly with their subject, both in the sing. and pl. (1) Adj.: 842, 1370, 1420, 1606, etc. (2) Participle: 200, 430, 1117, 1490, etc.

There are, however, two cases of non-agreement: *maintenu:fu* 3350, and *creüz:cremuz* 1277 with *cristïenté* and *honur* as the subjects respectively. As *honur* appears to be feminine in our poem, 1144, 1792, 2815, this non-agreement may be looked upon as a poetic license.[2] Instances of non-agreement occur also in various authors.[3]

§ 46. The oblique case appears very frequently for the genitive: (1) in fixed expressions: *la Dieu merci* 620, *la grace Seint Espirit* 777, and so: 2477, 2551, 2325, etc.; (2) before proper names: *al braz Seint Jorge* 641, *la gent Offe* 1348, and also: 1063, 1315, 1597, 1635, etc.; (3) when it refers to a person: *le fiz mon cosin* 685, *cosin lur segnur* 828, and so: 849, 1668, 1703, etc.; (4) in the expression *en esté tens* 3542,[4] but regularly *en tens d'esté*

[1] It occurs also in the *Roman de Saint Michel*, in the *Saint Martin*, and later in André de Coutances (cf. Miss Pope, *Étude*, pp. 58, 59).

[2] It may be noted that *honur* is masc. in Gaimar and in the *Brandan* (cf. Vising, *Étude*, pp. 96 and 100).

[3] Cf. H. Andresen, *Über den Einfluss von Metrum, Assonanz, und Reim*, Bonn, 1874, pp. 53 ff.; Matzke, *Simund de Freine*, p. xxxviii; Constans, *Roman de Troie*, VI, 161B.

[4] Cf. Tobler, *Verm. Beiträge*, I, §§ 60–61.

3697; (5) we may have to read in 658–59 *en chemin Jerusalem* without a preposition.[1]

We have doubtful cases in 607 and 827, since *des Saisnes* (cf. 103) or *Sessoigneis* (cf. 769) could be read instead of *de Sessoigne*. The Latin shows in the same episode such forms: REGIS SAXONICI, MAGNATIBUS SAXONICIS, PER REGEM SAXONUM.[2]

§ 47. *Agreement of past participles conjugated with avoir.*—In the MS flexional -*s* (*z*) appears or is omitted, *z* and *s* are interchanged, and the *e* of the fem. participle is left out frequently. Apparently the scribe did not observe any rule. Another difficulty is that, since in our poem the object sometimes replaces the subject in predicate participle, and participles do not always agree with a preceding acc., in a few instances we are at liberty to admit the non-observance of either one of the two rules: e.g., *meis li reis en hé les coilli Pur ceo qu'il erent pruz e hardi* 3883, and also 364, 1975, 2836. Yet, in general, the rime or the meter leaves no doubt as to the correct reading.

Accusative preceding the participle.—When the acc. precedes, the agreement is regularly observed, save in a few cases. Agreement: There are 40 sure instances: 314, 344, 574, etc., and 8 doubtful cases, 326, 3181, 3186, etc. Non-agreement: 1995, 3267, 3174, 3477, 3816.

Accusative following the participle.—When the acc. follows, the agreement seems to be optional. Agreement: 1961, 2361, 3074, 3211, 3595, 3813, etc. Non-agreement: 649, 739, 741, 985, 2605.

§ 48. ARTICLES:

In the MS the acc. is used for the nom. In the nom. sing. *li* occurs twice as often as *le* in the first one thousand lines; in the nom. pl. it is the reverse: *les* appears with greater frequency than *li* in the first four hundred lines. The MS shows sporadically the use of *le* for *la: le pais* 134, *le regiun* 444, and also: 1585, 1805, 1863, and *la* for *le: la martire* 2134, *la language* 2721 and also: 2811, 2951, 2968 (cf. Stimming, *Boeve de Haumtome*, pp. xi and xiii, for other instances).

§ 49. ADJECTIVES:

Adjectives which had in Latin only one form for the masc. and fem. have no analogical femines in *e: granz* 227, *real* 627, *mortel* 2390, *viez* <VĔTUS 2987.

The meter demands the suppression of such forms: *tele* 748, *quele* 588, *cruelement* 765, *reale* 725, *errantement* 671, *fortes* 1342, *vile* 2684, etc. To be noted is *grande:Holtlande* 1416, which may be a poetic license. Such proper names in -*ande* (cf. 178, 390, 1417, 1421) ought to stand according to the meter. *Forte* 1369 (with hiatus before the conj. *et*) and *fortes* 3018 may be ascribed to the author.

[1] For omission of the preposition before place-names, cf. Tobler, *Verm. Beiträge*, I, § 58, and note, and *Beles pulcelesz, fillesz Jerusalem* in *Fragment d'un poème dévot*, Bartsch, *Chrestom.* (1908), 16, 49.

[2] *Memorials*, I, 95, 97.

Dulce 2744, *dulcement* 856, *fole* 2, *folement* 286 are regular O.F. forms. The fem. of adj. in *-eis* ends in *-esche*:*englesche* 3485. *Vereiment* 1889, 2769, 3515, 3655, 3178 stands for *veirement*.

Comparatives.—To be noted is *beleisur* 2934. The MS shows that *graindre* 380, 845, and *mieldres* 1517 are used for the accusative.

§ 50. PRONOUNS:

Personal pronouns.—The tonic forms of the personal pronouns appear: (1) after a preposition *a mei* 59; (2) before an infinitive: *de lui joïr* 469, *devant sei venir* 876, *en tei maculer* 2324; (3) with an indicative: *avrunt els* 288, *enbruncha sei* 562, *departira mei* 2308, *lui* (MS *li*) *a en son regne alevé* 3317; (4) as a disjunctive: *lui e tute sa parenté* 104, but usually *il:* 106, 611, 1890, etc.

The tonic form *lui* usually appears as *li* in the MS.

Atonic *li* (dative) is the only form for both masc. 449, 524, and fem. 1167, 1173.

Lor (dat. pl.) is replaced generally by *les* in the MS: 161, 256, 268, 287, etc. The correct form is preserved in 180, 274, 332, 1423, etc.

Jeo and *Ceo* are the spellings of the MS. *Ele* has two forms: *ele* 1225, 3056, and *el* (MS *ele*) 39, 1210, etc.

§ 51. *Possessive pronouns.*—The acc. pl. of *nostre, vostre* is *noz* 75, and *voz* 884 (MS *nos, vos*). When the article precedes the poss. pron., the tonic form is used regularly: *li mien ceptre* 732, *pur la meie* (MS *moy*) *amur* 542, but *un son chevalier* 2209, *un son evesque* 2287. To be noted is the use of *lor* in: *Tut le mielz d'Engletere ert lur* 3908, and again: 3368, 3903. The use of *son* for *sa* is to be attributed to the copyist: 763, 983. For elision of *sa* cf. § 72*c*.

§ 52. *Demonstrative pronouns.*—Forms with *i* are found sporadically by the side of *cil, cist: icil* 3857, *icel* 111, *icist* 3377, *icest* 1102, and also 1186, 1862, 1921, etc. The acc. pl. masc. and fem. of *cist* appears as *cez* (MS *ces*): 114, 1005, etc., and the nom. pl. masc. as *cist:* 1733. In the MS oblique forms sometimes stand for the nom.: *cels* 177, 521, etc., *cestui* 661, *celui* 1876, etc. To be noted is the use of the demonstrative with a poss.: *de ceste nostre regiun* 1729.

§ 53. *Relative pronouns.*—The nom. *qui* (MS *qui, ki*) and the acc. *que* (MS *que, ke*) are kept separate in a great many cases. Yet the MS shows that *que* (*ke*) stands most frequently for the nom.: 21, 38, 70, 142, 147, 153, etc.; and sporadically *qui* (*ki*) for *que:* 658, 1733, 2585, etc. It is evident that our author is largely responsible for substituting *que* for *qui* in the nom., because of the fact that the vowel (MS *que ke, qui ki, qu' k'*) has often to be elided with the next vowel: MS *que* (*ke*): 203, 669, 930, 1562, 1606, 1775, 1806, etc.; MS *qui* (*ki*): 170, 1389, 1557, 1636, 1648, 1763, 1872, 1994, etc.; MS *qu'* (*k'*): 1513, 2022, 2459, 2886.

The use of the rel. pron. *que* for *qui* is to be found in Anglo-Norman, Ile-de-France, Champagne, Picard, and Wallonian dialects,[1] but, save in a

[1] Cf. K. De Jong, *Die Relativ- und Interrogativ-pronomina "qui" und "qualis" im Altfrz.*, Marburg (1900), pp. 25–36.

few instances, the West does not show it. This trait does not appear either in the northwestern or the southwestern dialects.[1] In the case of Denis Piramus, we have to deal plainly with an Anglo-Norman trait. The continental Marie de France did not escape the Anglo-Norman influence, and her *Espurgatoire* show several cases.[2]

Cui (MS *qui, ki*) appears in 2311 and after prepositions: 443, 676, 811, 2000, etc. *Quil* 561, 1593, 2082, for *qui*, and *qui* 211, 1747 for the conjunction *que* are to be attributed to the copyist. *Altrui* (MS aultri) as a genitive has no preposition: *altrui enfant* 572.

§ 54. VERBS:

Personal endings.—The 1st pers. sing. of the ind. pres. takes neither *e* nor *s: cunt:Edmunt* 99, *comant:avant* 708, *rent:omnipotent* 549, but regularly *languis:amis* 674.

The 1st pers. pl. ends in *-um*, and is found in rime with *-un:parlum: barun* 1870; otherwise it rimes only with itself and with *prodom* 3200, *celerum:avum* 1679. *Sumes* is regular 871, 1100.

The 2d pers. pl. ending is *-ez: amez:assez* 62, *irez:nez* 726.

The 1st pers. and 2d pers. pl. of the impf. subj. take no *i: ralissum: returneriüm* 1662, *menissum* 1667, *feïssum* 1669, *alissez:deviëz* (MS *deverez*) 1244.

The endings *-iüm* and *-iëz* of the impf. and cond. are dissyllabic: *voldriëz* 1222; the meter demands *deviëz* (or *devriëz*) 1243, *returneriüm* 1661, *celeriüm* 1679.

§ 55. *Infinitive.*—Infinitives in *-er* <-ARE and in *eir* <-ĒRE are not mixed in rime.

§ 56. *Indicative present.*—The 3d pers. of *aller* shows two forms, both assured by rime: *veit:feit* 529, *va:a* 1843. *Veit:dreit* 785 is to be mentioned. Cf. § 9. *Tint* 14, 3278 may stand for *tinc* <TĔNEO,[3] and *lest* (:*vest*) 1363 for *let*.

§ 57. *Subj. present.*—The 3d pers. sing. of the I conj. has no *e: griet: chiet* 704, *port:fort* 1408, etc. The meter requires *prit* 696, *otreit* 3219, *dunt* 449, etc. *Dunt* (MS *doynd*) 3d pers. of *duner* is proved by the rime: *Edmund* 534. Out of rime are found: *doyne* 449, *doune* 2215, *doint* 4022, *pardunt* 3218.

Other conjs. have *-e: die* 1217, *prenge* (MS *prengne*) 3636, *asaile:bataile* 1617. The forms from VĔNIAT and TĔNEAT show *-einge, -inge, -ienge*, and rime only with themselves: 717, 1621, 2213. An analogical form in *-ge* is assured by the rime: *prenge:venge* 3828. Our text has *alge* 1329, *algent* 260, 271, 1069 of *aler* and *murge* 652 of *murir*. The presence of pres. subj. in *-ge* deserves to be noted. According to F. Kirste,[4] the pres. subj. in *-ge*

[1] Cf. De Jong, *op. cit.*, p. 34. [2] Cf. Jenkins, *Espurg.*, p. 44.

[3] Cf. Matzke, *Simund de Freine*, p. xli, for the same instance; Miss Pope, *Étude*, pp. 34–35; E. Goerlich, "Die südwestlichen Dialekte," *Französ. Studien*, III, 119, 125.

[4] Cf. *Hist. Untersuchung über d. Conjunctiv Praesens* (1890), p. 68.

"findet sich allein herrschend im Dialekt der Normandie, Bretagne, Anjou und des S. W., sporadisch in der Picardie und Namur." According to Stimming, however, these forms also appear in Anglo-Norman.[1]

§ 58. *Imperfect.*—The 3d sing. of the I conj. rimes either with itself or with the preterite of the III conj.; cf. § 15. The regular forms of the I conj. appear in the MS also: 1170, 1262, 1916, 3162. There are two instances in which *out* is found riming with the impf. of other conjs.: *demandeit*:*aveit* 1151, *giseit*:*crieit* 3617. These rimes probably ought to be discarded. They occur in the various MSS of the works of a correct writer like Marie de France.[2] In the first instance *en out* may stand for *aveit* and, in the second, *braieit* for *crieit*. The MS shows once *aportoient* 3105, no doubt for *aportouēnt*.

§ 59. *Preterites.*—Pret. I takes no *s*: *esbaï*:*vi* 1255, *fui*:*lui* 1696, *deguerpi*: *enemi* 2313.

Pret. 3 has no *t*: *traï*:*ci* 796, *estendi*:*miēdi* 1182, *fu*:*Jhesu* 2202.

There is one instance of a preterite 3 in *-ié*: *espandié*:*lié* 2526, but *espandirent*:*eissirent* 1254. Other verbs of the same class appear with *i* only: *estendi*:*miēdi* 1182, *entendi*:*bani* 2339. The presence of this preterite in *-ié* may serve as a clue to the dialect of our author. According to H. Wolterstorff,[3] the forms in *-ié* fail to appear in Anglo-Norman, Norman, and Picard, save in the prose MSS of the Cambridge and Oxford Psalters, *La chanson de Roland*, Samson de Nanteuil.[4] The pret. in *-ié* appears to be a continental trait. It is found in Benoît,[5] though not often. Here again the presence of such a form in Denis Piramus could be explained as dialectical.

The 3d pers. pl. of *faire* is *firent*:*departirent* 2662; the 3d pers. sing. of *chaïr*, *chaï*:*altresi* 390; of *remaindre* (or *remaneir*) *remist* 165, 2664, in the pl. *remistrent* 2462; of *voleir*, *volt* 517, 665 (MS *vult*), in the pl. *voldrent* 164. *Vinch*, 1st pers. sing. 1227, 1245, may be attributed either to the author or the copyist. It is not necessarily a Picard form. It is found in Anglo-Norman and in the western dialects.[6] In Frère Angier, *c* or *ch* is regularly added to the 1st pers. sing. of the ind., when it ends in *n*, *nt*, *r*, *r*+*cons.*[7]

§ 60. *Future and conditional.*—To be noted are: *durrai* 556, 601, *lerrai* 2222, *lerreit* 2092, 2089. The MS shows the popular form *recovera* (=*recoverra*) 862, *liverunt* (=*liverrunt*) 3929. Otherwise *amenerunt* 987, *mustrerai* 1688. The meter demands *menreit* 2091, *amenrunt* 960. See also § 69.

[1] Cf. *Boeve de H.*, p. xxxi.

[2] Cf. Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. ciii.

[3] Cf. *Das Perfekt der zweiten schwachen Conj.* (Halle, 1882), pp. 28–29.

[4] Cf. Sophie Hilgers, *Der Lautstand in den Proverbia Salomonis von Samson von Nantuil* (Halle, 1910), p. 20. Did Samson come from Nanteuil in Picardie, now in the Oise Department? If so, the *–ié* forms in Samson could be explained as dialectical, since he would come from the neighborhood of Garnier's birthplace (Pont Sainte-Maxence), and where *Gormond et Isembard* was probably written (Ponthieu).

[5] Cf. *Roman de Troie*, VI, 145.

[6] Cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 125.

[7] Cf. Miss Pope, *Étude*, pp. 34, 35, 60.

§ 61. *Imperative.*—The verbs of the II and III conjs. show no *-s: di:oï* 2327, *revien:bien* 2211. Subjunctive forms of the 2d pers. sing. appear in the imperat. *voiles* (MS *voyle*) 1852, *seies* 1853.

§ 62. *Subj. imperfect.*—The 1st and 2d pers. pl. of the I conj. show forms with *-iss:ralissum* 1662, *menissum* 1667, *alissez* 1244. To be noted also is *volsissent* 1610. *Pooir* has no form in *i: poüst:oüst* 379, 2190. *Susum* 950 stands for *fussum* and is not a pres. subj. as Menger claimed.[1]

Participles.—Compounds of *lire* have an *i: eslit:cit* 1773.

§ 63. *Gerundive.*—The construction with *aler* is common: *vunt wacrant: avant* 1468, and also 1835, 2003, 2039, etc.; with *estre* we have *obeissant:tant* 2220, and 3153, etc.

VERSIFICATION

§ 64. As might be expected of a poet who was familiar with various genres of poetry current in his time in court circles, and with works like *Partonopeus de Blois* and Marie's *Lais*, Denis must have written *La vie Seint Edmunt* in octosyllabic couplets throughout: to quote Gröber,[2] "in richtig gebauten Achtsilbnern." His versification does not differ from that of his continental contemporaries. The MS as it is preserved to us shows, indeed, many irregular lines. Vising, citing *La vie Seint Edmunt* as an illustration of Anglo-Norman poems containing "des négligences métriques," long ago stated that "sur les 123 vers de la *Vie de Saint Edmund* communiqués par M. Michel, j'en compte quinze qui sont irréguliers."[3] The present survey of the versification, however, will tend to show that these irregularities disappear under criticism and are to be ascribed only to the copyist.

NUMBER OF SYLLABLES

§ 65. Final atonic *e* followed by a consonant in the next word has metrical value regularly (*a*) after a vowel: *folie* 68, *menue* 372, *maladie* 800, since *maladie* 643, 874, *Marie* 3618 occur in doubtful lines, no conclusion can be drawn; (*b*) after a single consonant: *fole* 2, *grace* 23, *dame* 35, etc. The meter demands *sire* 857, 943, etc., *seintisme* 99, 2283, etc., invariably. Line 2330 is to be emended to: *li reis seintisme.* The MS shows *cum*, *sicum*, and *uncore* generally; the meter, however, requires *cume* 1, 29, 298, 360, etc., *cum* 600, 802, *sicume* 385, 401, *sicum* 778, 1486, (the forms with *e* are in the majority), *uncore* 2759, *uncor* 2634, 3271, *ore* 121, 3066, *or* 729, 1003, etc. The MS often shows the omission of final *e: fesei* 6, *cunt* 42, *petit* 153, *mesnié* 343, *vessel* 473, *porté* 1036, *escriptur* 3297, etc. In all these cases *e* is called for by the meter.

Conversely, *e* appears many times when it has no metrical value: *curte* 5, *travaile* 54, *nefes* 179, *barunes* 520, *ferme* 2373, *corne* 2671, *croice* 2310,

[1] Cf. *Anglo-Norman Dialect*, p. 128.

[2] Cf. *Grundriss*, II, 646–47.

[3] Cf. *Étude*, p. 62.

colpe 3776, etc. *Cunseile* 969 and *desdeigne* 1969 may not be attributed to the author; cf. *conseil* 1016, 1102, etc.

§ 66. Final atonic *e* followed by a vowel in the next word has no syllabic value after a vowel: *envie aveient* 2677, *vie aveir* 2169. Also cf. § 73.

§ 67. *-Ent* of pres. ind. and subj. always has syllabic value: *commencent* 2020, *aprochent* 2046, *seient* 2084, *puissent* 2919, etc.

§ 68. As for *-ent* of *-eient* (impf. 6), elision or non-elision appears to be optional. In our MS there are 15 instances of non-elision: 812, 1137, 1400, etc., and 34 instances of elision: 46, 245, 250, 337, 370, 433, etc. It cannot be decided whether the elision is to be ascribed to the author or to the copyist. In some instances the line may easily be emended, while, in most of the others, the perfect is apparently required by the context.

-ent of *-reient* (conditional 6) is not elided: 1609, 2611, 3610, 3922.

§ 69. Atonic *e* between consonants within a word has syllabic value regularly: *enemi* 13, *pelerin* 623, *comandement* 880, *apelereit* 2672. The meter requires *pelerinage* 785, 1136, *larecin* 1955, 3130, *fereie* 934, *ferunt* 988, *fereient* 3610, etc.; hence, *frunt* 260 may have to be discarded, and so with *pelrin* 752 which occurs in a doubtful line. Cf. § 81. The MS, however, omits frequently the *e: Almagne* 393, *chapels* 629, *gelins* 2113, *Danmarche* 3707, *fortresce* 3796, etc. On the other hand, *e* is often inserted between cons., but has no metrical value: *metterei* 20, *averunt* 288, *overi* 3053, *liveré* 3186, *Ulfeketel* 3773, *combaterum* 3810, etc.; *perderum* 1712, *perderez* 2277 cannot stand and must be corrected. *Espirit* counts for three syllables 23, 777; *angels* (MS) 753 two syllables; *virgine* 3291 three syllables (also in Gaimar 2902); *apostoile* 787 four syllables.

ENCLISIS

§ 70. The enclitic use of *le* and *les* occurs frequently:

A. *As an article.*—*al* 133, 458, etc.; *as* 46, 270; *del* 110, 271, etc.; *el* 226, 329, etc.; *es* 989, etc. The MS often shows *en le* when the meter requires enclisis: 758, 915, 3013, etc.

B. *As a pronoun.*—*nel* 836, 954, etc.; *nes* 702; *ne le* (MS) 668, 1323, and *ne les* (MS) 3369, 3374, etc., stand for *nel* and *nes* respectively; the meter calls for *ne le* (MS *nel*) 1189, 2133; *quil* 583, 3279; *sil* 576, 1724; *sis* (MS *si les*) 1363, 2001; *jeol* 126, 3220, the enclisis is required by the meter.

C. *After a verb.*—*lirel* (MS *lire le*) 44, *lessel* 2242. Cf. in other texts: *merel, fairel* (*Roman de Troie*, VI, 110), *feirel* (MS *feire el*) 360 (*Le livre des Manières*, p. 15) *rumprel* 58c (*La passion du Christ*), *penrel* 150, *rendel* 26 (*La vie de Saint Léger*).

CONTRACTION

§ 71. Save in a few instances of pretonic *e* in hiatus, vowels derived from two vowels which were in Latin hiatus or separated by a consonant are not contracted.

a+vowel: *praëries* 222, *païs* 1030, *haïnus* 1888, *traïsun* (Ms *treïsun*) 2003, *flaëlerent* 2386, *raänceun* 2522, *aünerent* 2635, etc. The meter demands *gaäignable* 220, *gaäigneries* 221, *enaäncrées* 1490, *graäntez* 1724, *raänceun* 2074, etc.

e+*a:* *reäl* 725, *purveänce* 1578. The meter demands *eäge* 509, 1158.

e+*e:* *veëir* 1087, *priveëment* 1556, *creëz* 2273.

There seems to be contraction in the case of *benesqui* 583, *benesquirent* 3255, *beneït* 2857, and possibly of *citeein* 2881, 2969.

The MS often shows contraction: *estrusement* 879, *grent* 1749, *irrement* 3588, *veir*=*veeir* 3959, etc.

e+*i:* *veïstes* 844, *feïmes* (MS *meimes*) 947, *neïs* 2733. The meter demands *cuntredeïst* 281, *meïst* 282, 3198, etc.

Contraction justified by the meter is found in *beneçun* (MS *benesciun*) 738 and *mesme* 1755, 1491, 2629, 2916, 3001, but lines 2207 and 1060 are doubtful and *meïsme* may possibly be read. By the side of *poëstif* 1024, 1595, etc., the meter calls for the form *poësteïs* in 1029, 1330, 3500, 3924; both forms are regular and may be found side by side in the same author (cf. *Erec et Enide*, ll. 526, 2327, 5607).

e+*o:* *gaaigneür* 242, *decoleür* 2445, *salveür* 2492, *meüle* 2544. The meter calls for *empereür* 83, 1134, *turmenteürs* 2395, 2441, *reögna* 3054, etc.

Contraction possibly occurs in *turmenteür* 2478, *decoleür* 2472, 2493, and *gaägneürs* 2158; these words, however, are regular elsewhere. *Leopart* 3780 counting for two syllables is correct O.F.[1]

e+*u:* *eür* 652, *aleüre* 2795, *geünassent* 3215, etc. The meter demands *creüz* 1277, *seüe* 1586, *engendreüre* 1989, *geüst* 2832, *serreüres* 3017. The lines may easily be emended so as to read *jeüne* 3039, 3224 and *bleceüre* 3000, 3243 regularly.

i+*a:* *fiänces* 916, *diäcne* 3603.

i+*e:* *obliër* 55, *oriënt* 110, *hardiëment* 269, *depriëra* 448, *diënt* 1105, etc. We have to read *miëdi* 1181, *miënuit* 2057, to satisfy the meter. *Niënt* is dissyllabic: 594, 702, 960, 3456, 3606, but possibly monosyllabic: 2518 (in the latter line *sa* may be left out). *Niënt* always rimes with words in *-ent*. Here Denis is to be classed with Wace, Benoît (cf. Suchier, *op. cit.*, § 47*a*), and Marie (cf. *Fabeln*, p. civ), who show also *niënt* as dissyllabic.

i+*o:* *confessiün* 741, *processiün* 2786, etc.; *gloriüs* 2181, *religiüse* 3038, etc. *Pius* 623 as a monosyllabic is regular.[1]

o+*e:* *loëz* 34, *poësté* 1271, *boële* 2412, etc. We have to read *espoëntée* 3576, and *esboëlerent* 2153, leaving out the conjunction *e* in the latter line.

o+*i:* *oïr* 63, *joïr* 469, *roïl* 2537.

o+*o:* *roündes* 309, *poüns* 472, *poür* 2227. The meter calls for *espoürie* 3564.

u+vowel: *vertuüses* 901, *fuï* 3585, etc. We may read *saluërez* 3954 by leaving out *me* or *e*.

[1] Cf. Tobler, *Versbau*[4], p. 84.

As we see, silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus has not made much headway in the language of our author. It appears to be certain in the case of the words *beneit*, *mesme*, and possibly *benesqui beneçun*, and a few others. Some instances are doubtful, since the same words have the regular number of syllables elsewhere. Otherwise pretonic *e* in hiatus has regularly syllabic value. On the continent the silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus made its appearance late in the twelfth century.[1] Gaston Paris, however, remarks[2] that *mesme* is "very old" and *benoit* appears early by the side of *beneoit*.

In Anglo-Norman, aside from a few cases of contraction in *Brandan*[3] and Gaimar,[4] silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus is common with Adgar,[5] Fantosme,[6] and Simund de Freine.[7] Marie de France even shows a *beneit* in the *Espurgatoire*.[8]

It seems that pretonic *e* in hiatus became generally silent in Anglo-Norman in such words as *meïsme*, *beneït*, *beneïçun*, etc., in about the last quarter of the twelfth century. Simund de Freine shows *meïsme* as two-syllabic and *beneïçun* as three-syllabic regularly.[9]

ELISION

§ 72. A. In the case of *ne* (NEC), *que*, *si*, *se* (SI) *jeo*, *ceo*, elision is optional before initial vowels.

ne: 720, 918, 2439, etc.
n': 78, 234, 284, etc.
que: 77, 151, 268, 291, etc.
qu': 11, 48, 68, 71, etc.
si: 555, 942, etc.
s': 652, 703, 1610, etc.
jeo: 16, 18, 1589, etc.
j': 2237.
ceo: *ceo est* 929, 1581, etc., *ceo ert* 1321, *ceo en* 3315, *ceo esteit* 3468, etc.
c': *c'est* 74, 201, etc., *c'ert* 1156, 2807, *c'aveient* 2679, *c'oï* 2283.

Si <SIC does not seem to be elided in our poem, 19, 32, 43, 491, etc.

For the article *li* nom. sing. the meter demands elision in 1893, 2186, 3227, etc., and non-elision in 527, 559, 843, etc.; *li* nom. pl. masc. does not lose its vowel: 1951, 3519. Cf. § 48.

Li (dat. s. pron.) possibly elides its vowel in 970, 1521.

[1] Cf. Nyrop, *Gramm. hist. de la lang. franç.*, I, § 264, Remarque.

[2] Cf. *Vie de St. Gilles*, p. xxiii, note.

[3] Cf. Suchier, *Seint Auban*, p. 27.

[4] Cf. Vising, *Étude*, p. 82.

[5] Cf. *Marienlegenden*, *beneit*, *-te:* 5. 61 p. 22, 6. 305 p. 36, 11. 21 p. 58, etc.; *meismes:* 5. 220 p. 26, 8. 233 p. 48, 21. 1 p. 130.

[6] Cf. Suchier, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

[7] Cf. Matzke, *op. cit.*, pp. l–lii.

[8] Cf. Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. civ.

[9] Cf. Matzke, *op. cit.*, p. li and glossary.

Qui preserves its vowel in 200, 1196, 1254, 1264, etc.; for the elision of *qui=que*, cf. § 53.

En apparently loses its vowel after *cea* in *cea en arriere* 709, 802, 3242; the MS shows once the elided form (3242). The MS shows that *en* has no metrical value after *e* (*et*), 588, 758, 922, 1030, 3039, 3208.[1]

B. Before *h* aspirate, atonic *e* is preserved: *le hidus* 2590, *de haches* 3756. Ll. 2186, 2191, elision in *se hasta* is doubtful: in the first line *li* before *aversiers* may be elided, while in the second *haste* may be read. In l. 2062, the *h* of *Hubbe* is not aspirate (cf. *Ubbe* in Gaimar, 2896).

Apparently we have elision of *e* in: *Dist son message hardiëment* 2246, and of *a* in: *La veile treient jesqu'a l'hune* 1379, unless these lines be emended by leaving out *son* in 2246 and *l'* in 1379, or the fifth syllable be considered as having no metrical value. Silencing of *h* aspirate is found in Frère Angier.[2]

C. The feminine form of the poss. adj. appears with elision in *m'entente* 20, *s'espee* 2493, *s'eschiele* 3134; the meter calls for *s'offrende* 627, *s'oreisun* 1510, 1511, *s'altre gent* 1659 and apparently for *sue almosniere* 577, *sue alme* 1316, *sue amur* 3274, *sun eveschié* 3213.

HIATUS

§ 73. Other cases of non-elision of atonic *e* outside of those mentioned above appear in our text. They are classified under the headings adopted by G. Rydberg.[3] It has to be acknowledged that, at times, an example placed in one section may just as well be placed in another.

Logical hiatus.—Vortigernē unt iluc pris 345 and in ll. 694, 786, 979, 981, 1495, 1713.

Hiatus before the conjunction et.—Fist le servisē e la feste 1765, and in ll. 327, 1369, 1548, 1772, 2021, 2709, 2862, 2907, 2926, 2988, and 1950, if we read *Bern* instead of *Berin*.

Metrical hiatus.—Fu departiē en treis sens 112, and in ll. 438, 1515, 1887, 2187, 2722, 2920, 2957, 3148, 3192.

Hiatus after a heavy consonantal group.—Nus vus dirum nostrē avis 1018, and in ll. 882, 1316, 1835, 2192, 2419, 2862, 2981, 3139, 3345, 3381, 3973.

Hiatus may be avoided in 952 by substituting *jesques* for *jesque*, and in 3768 by reading *lancer e traire*, if *treier* stands for *traire*.

§ 74. The initial vowel of *estrange* in *d'aler en estrange regiün* 1276 may fall, but, since *regiün* may stand for *reiün*, this case remains doubtful.

In ll. 1301, 3071, *vesque* (MS *evesque*) may possibly be read. This form, due to a misdivision of the article, is not of rare occurrence.[4]

There may be a case of synalepha in: *Ceo fu Inguar qui la avala* 2061.

[1] Cf. Suchier, *op. cit.*, p. 31. 6.

[2] Cf. Miss Pope, *Étude*, p. 28.

[3] Cf. *Zur Geschichte des französischen ə* (Upsala, 1897), II, 89–202, 177–78.

[4] Cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Gram. des Altfrz.*, § 11

§ 75. A few incorrect rimes are to be noted: *parz*:*chalanz* 2029, *veir*:*cerchier* (MS *cerchir*) 2673, *grante*:*face* 3281. In the following lines, where the meter is either too long or too short, the rimes may have been tampered with by the copyist: *fet*:*net* 661, *forz*:*cors* 2667, *venuz*:*peresceuz* 3853. To be mentioned is *arveire*:*receivre* 1829, but *creire*:*arveire* 78; cf. *creire*:*receivre*, *R. de Thèbes* 2845, *espoire*:*boivre*, *G. de Dole* 3436.

IRREGULAR LINES

§ 76. After Anglo-Norman traits and metrical matters have been considered, quite a few lines remain either too long or too short. But the chief causes of these irregular lines, as we find, lie in the omission or addition of short words which may easily be omitted or added by a scribe: conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, etc. Otherwise, frequently, when emendation is necessary, it is plain from the context that the line has been changed by the scribe. Sometimes the need of substituting the correct form of a word is self-evident and needs no comment. The corrections or tentative corrections that we offer are not forced, but are, on the contrary, justified mostly by the presence elsewhere in the poem of forms similar to the ones that are suggested.

Here follows a list of the emended lines. The six- and ten-syllable lines are printed in full. Corrections aiming to improve the reading of some octosyllabic lines are also offered. The words and syllables in brackets are the emended forms, while those in parentheses appear in the MS.

§ 77. *Six syllables restored to eight.*—

246 *E* (*del un*) [*de leüns*] *e* [*de*] *tuz blez.*
575 *L'enfant* [*Edmund*] *tost apela.*
794 *Reçut* [*Dampne*] *Deus en sa gloire.*
993 *Ne sanz mon fiz* [*la mer*] *passer.*
1001 *Kant* [*Offe*] *de lui s'en ala.*
1060 [*Si*] *cum*[*e*] *mesmes vostre cors.*
1162 *Pur Deu* [*e*] *en pel*[*e*]*rinage.*
1316 [*En*] *porterunt s'almĕ en ciel* or, *porterunt* (*s*)[*ue*] *almĕ en ciel.*
1789 *Kant* [*l'enfant*] *Edmund li seint ber.*
2063 *D'am*[*bedous*] *parz trestuz s'armerent.*
2176 *Iluc meint* [*Edmund*] *ceo dit hum.*
2305 *Il seit tesmoign*[*erre*] *de mei.*
2380 *Pur poi que mort* [*li reis*] *ne fu.*
2451 *Tanque le seint*[*isme*] *martir.*
2719 *Par treis* (*feiz*) [*feiëes*], *her, her, her!*
3144 *Kar l'uis voelt* [*fraindre e*] *descloer.*
3270 (*E*) *li grant,* [*li meien*], *e li mendre.*
3275 *Dit en ai* [*une*] *grant partie.*
3473 *Ne nul* [*hum*] *ne s'en* (*perneit*) [*purveëit*] or, *ne nul ne s'en* [*aperceveit*].

L. 297 is also two syllables short.

§ 78. *Seven syllables restored to eight.*—

A. By the insertion, (1) of a conjunction: *e* 4, 265, 427, 522, 529, 563, 616, 756, 969, 1288, 1846, 1959, 2004, 2015, 2070, 2152, 2206, 2581, 2638, 2680, 2856, 2900, 2958, 3014, 3091, 3110, 3383, 3555, 3558, 3629, 3758, 3875 (unless *contreire* should be read as a fem. noun); *que* 681, 3927; *kar* 776; *ne* 1260, 1731 (or *jeo*), 1826, 2798, 3828, 3890; (2) of an adverb: *en* 33, 1677, 1834, 2381 (or *dunkes*), *s'en fu* 1501; *i* 483, 488, 1041, 1045, 1337, 1550, 2277, 2432, 2801, 3118, 3170, 3940; *si* 22; *mais estre* 31; *tut ensement* 305; *quant* 751, the Latin reads: QUIA IN CHRISTO OBIIT REX HUMILIS ET PEREGRINUS (*Memorials*, I, 97), hence read *en J.C.* instead of *de J.C.; ja* 1138; *n'* 2137; *ne* 2688; *mult* 2170; *tant* 2913; *desqu'a cel* 2933; (3) of a preposition: *de* before *pain* 162, *Jhesu* 1572, *pestilences* 3453; *a* before *estrus* 727, *segnur* 1639, *Edmund* 2498, *dolur* 3664; *pur sun* 2620, *hors* 3653; (4) of a pronoun: *nus* 860; *vus* 1065, 1240; *il* 1033, 3738, *il e sa gent* 3829; *l'* 1558, *la* 1380, *le* 1825, 2559, *li* 2653, *li en prist* 3045; *lor* 304, 1107, 1378, 2816; *sa voiz* 2708; *cil* 3643; (5) of *par* before *ai* 3, *tres* before *tut* 1720, *tuz* 2159; (6) of an article: *li ussier, li cou,* omit *e* 817, *le fiz* 1979, *li nostre* 2253, *l'oil* 2433, *le cors* 2469, *le fin or* 2510, *li* 4010; *la mer* 265, 2094; *uns sages* 1306, *un* 3476; *des* 2141; (7) of an adjective: *pius* 440, *chiers* 533, *nul si chier aveir* 1221, *nul delai* 2281, *grant peine* 2743; (8) of a noun or a name: *Edmund* after *enfant* article elided 499, 603, *reis* 100, 621, 3700, *riens* (or *choses* and read *out* for *aveit*) 663, *li duc, l'engres felun* 2334, *e Deu* 3216; (9) of a verb: *unt treit* 2415, *li cors fu* 2557, *ert enfraite* 3562, *il mielz pout* 3646, *unt qui a funz* 3696.

B. By the restoration of the correct form (1) of a verb: *feseie* 6, *grieve* 158, *furent* (*sunt*) 200, *aveient* 301, *poeient* 302 cf. 254, *blesmisse* 702, *avreie* 715, *feriüm* 880, *fereie* 934, *teneient* 1137, *deviēz* or *devriēz* 1243, *areisona* 1204, *orent* (*n'unt*) 1448, *aoré* 1519, *mainteingē* or *-ent* 1620, *avrunt* 1621, *returneriūm* 1661, *celeriūm* 1679, *paruni* 1754, *munteit* 1942, *furent* 2121, *parole* 2165 *veëit* 2435, *demandereient* 2649, *ajusterent* 2821, *esparpilé* 2842, *erreier* 3360, *haï* 3375, 3909, *osereient* 3606, *firent* (read *si* MS *son*) 3729, *choisie* 3784, 3813, *feseient* 3840; (2) of a noun: *Hunestanestun* 1498, 1513 (cf. *Memorials*, I, 100), *runcerei* 2702, *curbé* 3157, *Westsexe* (WESTSEAXAS) 3347, *forteresce* 3796, *Kanut* or *Kenut* 3987; (3) of an article: *la parfin* 446, *la fertre* 3086, *la cunté* 3528; (4) of an adjective: *trestute* 3932; (5) of a pronoun: *les escrist* 3472; (6) of an adverb: *cume sage, cume leal,* omit *et* 1726.

C. By restoring an *s* to the following: *sages* 887, *cointes* 936, *jesques* 952, 1537, *a merveiles* 1492, *poeples* 2257, *evesques* 3073, *sages* 3482, *riches* 3745.

D. By the substitution of another form: (1) verb: *resurst* 142, *ameine* 851, *purparolent* or insert *i* before *parolent* 1392, *esgarde* (or with hiatus *gardē e*) 1524, *poeit* 1920, *recunquerre* 3440, *demustre* 3635, *feseit* 3666, *orent* 3733, *esteient* 3896; (2) substantive: *feiēe* 1096, *selve* 2569, 2582, 2666; cf. 2693; (3) adverb: *forment* 27, *dunques* 1767, 3995, *de ci quē*, or *en Northumbre*[1]

[1] Cf. H. Rose, *Romanische Studien*, V, 367–68.

391, *ententivement* 1832, *neïs* 1900, *ne* 2134, *issi* 2229, *ainceis* 3185, 3427, *sicume* 3239, 3663, 4002, *ici* 3322; (4) preposition: *ovek* 24, 3406, *devers* 1182, 1529, *de devers* 1366, *desoz* 1940, 2850, *apres* 2800, *envers* 3810; (5) *li* for *le:* 527, 559, 843, 1433, 1758, 3142; (6) other words: *depuis* 1696, *nostre* (*le*) 1712, *de ses* (*des*) 3792, *ambedous* 3754.

E. By the addition of an initial *i* to demonstratives: *icest* 688, *icel* 1768, *icele* 3041, *icels* 3112, *iceo* 1226, 2736, 3611.

F. By the transposition of words: *De sen acu* 1702, *en France reveit* 3416.

§ 79. *Nine syllables restored to eight.*—A. By the omission: (1) of a conjunction: *e* 93, 474, 481, 791, 922, 1496, 1600, 1654, 1693, 1928, 2031, 2153, 2346, 2512, 2844, 2966, 3207, 3548, 3630, 3929, 3947, 3954; (2) of an adverb: *i* 181, 3778, *si* 260, 2472, 2564, *pas* 1076, 2526, 3425, *en* 1638, 3936, 4029, *la* 2061, *ja* 2475, *mult* 3618; (3) of a preposition: *a* 135, 140, 153, 580, 1682, 1728, 2833, 3776, 3964, *de* 168, 659, 3925, *en* 666, 3026, *par* 861, 1658, *hors* 1502, *pur* 2372, *od* 3145; (4) of a pronoun: *il* 28, 221, 344, 582, 588, 1351, 1936, 1995, 2082 (read *de* for *del*), 3028, 3113, 3223, 3730, 3884, 3988; *jeo* 1248, *vus* 569, 1730, 2276, *se* 2105, 2223, *que* 822, *qui* 4017, *les* 3711, *sa* 1666, *son* (read *l'anel* and *de* instead of *en*) 1672; (5) of an article: *li* 667, *le* 1999, 2478, 3540, 3823, 4006, *la* 1201, 2086, 2536, 3193, *les* 419, 3551, *un* (or read *dancel* instead of *juvencel*) 1977; (6) of an adjective: *bon* 716, 1653, *grant* 2838, *seint* 3570; (7) of a noun: *dame* (read *K'a vus ne seit*) 1223 *d'or* 3092; (8) of a verb: *ai* (read *reçui*) 2311, *est* 2906, *ad* 3279.

B. By a change usually demanded by the context (1) of the verb: *suelent* 46, *valt* 61, *morut* 147, *aveit* 148, 2022, *entre demandent* 203, *oënt* 266, *trespercent* (omit *Ke*) 315, *out* 445, 739, 741, 1552, 3480, *suelt* 655, *prit* 696, *afiëz* 729, *seit* 1068, *poet* 1094, 1528, 2073, 2077, *escrieve* 1331, *crevée* 1404, *veient* 1417, *abat* 1470, *orer* 1549, *suelt* 1568, *ert* 1933, *vint* 2107, *fu* 2122, *pout* 2188, *haste* 2191, *dunt* 2215, *geinst* 2284, *ot* <AUDIT 2297, *mené* 2364, *desirent* 2612, *l'overte* (*a overte*) 2728, *funt* 2950, *issent* 2970, *parut* 3000, *cumbat* 3781; (2) of the noun or proper name: *prince* 105, *foil* 316, *Lindsie* 395, 398, *vis* 1167, 3644, *Bern* (Latin WERN) 1894, 1937, *pere* 2006, *cumpagne* 2053, *message* 2243, *ministre* 2378, 2560, *mandemenz* 2438, *decolere* 2493, *branche* 2698, *enfertez* 3454, *Edred* or *Ealvred* (the Latin reads EDERED) 3505, *vesquens* 3638, *Ulfketel* 3748, *croisseïz* 3819, *soing* 3852, *espié* 3870, *erté* (or read *n'out*) 3906; (3) of an adjective: *greindre* 1012, *veire* 1264, 1265, *veir* 1265, *triste* 2645; (4) of a pronoun, article, preposition, adverb, conjunction: *cest* (*cesti*) 808, *cel* (*celi*) 3713; *d'* (*del*) 400, *al* (*of le*) 1164, *al* (*de*) 2563, *de* (*del*) 2579; *oveke* (*ovekes*) 2660; *ariers* 251, *la* 642, *unc* 743, 1906, 2946, 3243, 3420, *longes* (read *out*) 2991, *d'iluc* 3175, *ne* (*mie*) 3854; *e* (*de*) 1647.

C. By substituting another word in faulty passages: *puer* (MS *penser*) 53, *a seür* (*asez seur*) 651, *tel* (*cele*) 1114, *nel* (*nela*) 1203, *dreit* (*e veit*) 1525, *le* (*l'enfant*) 1678, *ne* (*de li*) 1943, *prest* (*prestez*) 2028, *entre* (*a tere*) 2763, *meint* (*oyent*) 3107, *jut* (*i ust*) 3161, *dunt grace* (*seit grante*) 3281, *oes* (*ose*) 3772.

D. By the transposition of words: *les oënt de joie* 47, *En ordre* (*dist*) [*vit*] *cum* (*veü*) [*dit*] *aveit* 1303, *li reis seintisme* 2330.

§ 80. *Ten syllables or more restored to eight.*—

614 (*E ere*) [*eirre*] *e*[*n*] *chimin* (*e*) *matin e seir.*
643 (*Iluc*) [*la*] (*li*) *prist maladie si grant.*
796 *Ne* (*de*) *cil* (*Offe*) [*qui*] *Seint A*(*i*)*elbrict traï.*
874 *En maladie dunt* (*apres*) *murut.*
1173 *Avis li fu que* (*le reis*) (*se tendi*) *s'estendi.*
1598 *Pur le reälme Offe* (*mes*) *overreient.*
1974 *Kantes cités e* (*kantes*) *mansiüns.*
2332 *E li mes*(*sagier*) *out passé le soil.*
2480 *De*(*tres*)*tute la falde* (*de*) [*as*] *berbiz.*
2523 (*Cil Dieus*) *pur saner nus en ceste vie.*
2689 *Ne* (*a ceo*) *feïssent enterrement.*
2771 *Si oblié del tut* (*en tut*) *esteit.*
2874 *N'i vindrent* (*mie*) *sovenerement.*
2968 *Tut*(*e*) (*la*) [*le*] *clergié de la cité.*
3030 *Que nul*(*e*) *damisel*(*e*) *de juvent.*
3138 (*En le*) [*el*] *mustier la ou* (*il*) *voleit estre.*
3523 *Un*(*e*) (*bele*)*miracle, une grant vertu.*
3654 (*E*) *li diables* (*resceive le malbaillie*) [*l'out en baillie*].
3693 (*E*) *en un*(*e*) *ord*(*e*) *putel qu'ert parfunz.*

§ 81. In some octosyllabic lines, the meter is right, but the reading is obviously wrong. The following corrections may be suggested. Emendations introduced by Mrs. Ravenel in her edition are not mentioned again here. *N'en oï* 82, *levé est* 119, *la pais* 134, *galerne* 134, *ruiste* 186, *nagent* 218, *graanz orent* 392, *asazées* 416 (cf. 413) order in prose: *Le païs est establi de treis cuntrées asazées de bien*, 421 *est*, that is 'East,' *nurrir* 571, *estrées* 640, *pas ne* 656, [*Le*] *rei enoint e* (*umble*) *pel*[*e*]*rin* 752; cf. § 78A2, § 69, *l'escrepe* 783, *ne cil* 795, *sanz engan* 803, *einz* (*en*) 869, *pas ne me merveil* 937, *feïmes* 947, *fusum* 950, *en serement* 990, *unt* (*out*) 1013, *trovées veires cume durent* 1124 (omit *estre*), *ert forçur* (*enforcir*) 1197, *ne li* (*na li*) 1205, *l'esgarde* 1207, *treëit* 1219, *veire* 1264, *s'esluigne* 1402, *n'unt vent ne bise* 1413, the second half is not sure 1457: *li sigle eigier* or *eiguier* with *est* (or *sunt*) understood: 'the sail is watery or wet,' or without a comma after *unc* (MS *unt*): 'they never had to spread the "watery" or "wet" sail' (the form *aiguier* is found in Godefroy), *l'asen* 1475, *queste* or *quiert* 1585, *fesimes* 1676, *ovré* 1725, *voleir sunt paruni* 1754, *encuntre* 1821 (no semi-colon after 1820), *enrichiz* 1911, *amanantiz* 1912, the reading seems hopeless 1970, possibly: *lanier, cuart, malveis, respit!* (or *maldit*), *cunreerent* 2064, *vezïez* 2087, *estenglesche* and *muntenesche* 2119–20 on account of *beste* (in 2119 hiatus with *tere*), *qu'i erent* 2131, *sil* 2221, *nen* or *n'en aiez* 2227, *recovre* 2420, *puisque oie l'unt* or *puisquë oï l'unt* 2726, *rechan* 2734, *l'esprova* 3083, *oscur* 3121, *seür* 3122, *nes eüst* (*ne les out*) 3186, *numbrez* 3289, *aümbrez* 3290, *des Franceis* 3421, *Aluré* 3441,

recovrier 3452, *a l'ure* 3568, *a* or *en l'entur* 3624, *esluignerent* 3741, *nes* (*ne*) 3845, *de fi* 3958, *une envaie* 4023. Add *pout* 2136.

LIST OF UNUSUAL WORDS

aate, convenable, approprié 1492 (not in Godefroy with this meaning).

acés, *par acés e par amuntées* 2043. I have not been able to find the same phrase elsewhere. Denis is fond of pairs of words expressing the same idea, e.g., *que par chemins que par estrées* 640, and so: 324, 758, 2697, 2939, 3740. Here it apparently refers to the risings of the waves and would mean: 'par flots montants et ascendants.' Cf. *le flot montant* 2108 where the flow of the tide is understood, and also *accessa maris*, *recessa maris*, *accessus maris*, in Ducange, *Gloss.*, s.v. "*Accessa.*"

aguë, MS *aguwe* aide 1585.

aloër, placer, mettre. MS *alient*=*aliuent*, ind. pres. 6, 1388.

amuntées, 2043. See *acés*.

aramir, rassembler, raccoler 302, *areimer* 254.

arveire, illusion, mensonge 78, 1829.

asen, direction, chemin 1475.

asenéement, sagement, doctement 512. This word may stand for *enseignéement*.

barate, chose pénible, embarras 3280, *moveir* 3808 causer de la confusion, de l'embarras.

batestal, tapage, bruit 3163.

belbelet, objet d'ornement 3091. Cf. Fr. *bibelot*. (For a discussion of this word, see W. Foerster, *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Phil.*, XXII, 263, 509; and Miss Pope, *Étude*, p. 90).

besorder, souiller 2164.

bleste, motte de terre 2684.

bo, bracelet, anneau 3092.

boëline, bouline 1381, 1455, MS *le boëlin*. This word is usually feminine in O.F. In Denis it appears to be masc., unless the article be omitted and *boëline* be read. (As for *le* for *la*, cf. § 48, and for omission of atonic *e*, cf. § 65.)

compasser, ordonner, régler, bâtir, mesurer, arranger 37. The MS has *compensa* for *compassa* (or better *compessa* by Darmesteter's law). *Compas* applied to a metrical form occurs in the *Leys d'Amors*, Appel's *Prov. Chrest.*, 1912, pp. 197 ff.; cf. also: Vous, grant seigneur, vous, damoisel, Qui a compas, qui a cisel Tailliez et compassez les rimes Equivoques et leonimes. Gautier de Coincy, from Tobler, *Versbau*[4], p. 157. Bédier-Aubry, *Chansons de Croisade*, pp. 222, 225, have another instance of *compenser*, but the reading is doubtful.

contemple, temps, circonstance 3465.

costée, côte 1401 (not in Godefroy).
cruciëment, tourment 2516.
cruistre, grincer 1965.

decoleür, bourreau 2445, 2454.
desglagier, faire périr par le glaive, la lance, 2148, 2350. Cf. in Godefroy *deglavier*, *deglaiver*, *sorglaigier* and from Wace, *Brut* 8738, *deglaveïs* (var. *deglateïz*).
deshanekier, ôter les voiles ou les cordes qui tenaient les voiles serrées sur les vergues 1376 (Godefroy).

enberser, frapper, percer à coups de flèches 2457. (Not in Godefroy.) Cf. *berser*, tirer de l'arc.
encrismé, for *encresmé*, "anointed" 762, 3878. Here like Fr. *fieffé* in *coquin fieffé*.
engan, tromperie, fourberie 803. MS *seneghan*=senz engan.
erreier, être dans l'erreur 3360.
espeisse, fourré 2699.
estaïf, qui séjourne, s'arrête. MS *estaïs* 412, 2172, MS *astaïs* 3880. The meaning of this word has been often misunderstood. Constans (*Rom. de Thèbes*, Voc.) translates "tranquille"; Bartsch-Horning (*La lang. et la litt. franç.*, 1887, *Gloss.*), "dépouillé du lard"; G. Paris (*Romania*, XVIII, 149) correctly, "qui n'avance pas, qui reste en place"; W. Foerster (*Cligés*, 1910, Gloss.), "lässig."
estuchier, enfoncer 2423. Cf. *estoquier* in Godefroy.

fierges, chaînes, entraves 3176.
fricun, (?) (Not in Godefroy.) Perhaps an error for *bricun*, scélérat, lâche 2333.

gaägnable, labourable, cultivable 220.
gaägneür, laboureur 242, 2158.
galerne, vent de nord-ouest; here by extension=le nord 134.
graänt, concession, don 392. MS *grant*.
grifain, épervier 2540; this is the only definition quoted by Godefroy. Here apparently an adj. meaning "cruel"; also cf. Italian *Grifagno* and *Grant guerre aurunt ki mult lur iert griffaine*. Jordan Fantosme, *Chronique*, l. 695.

hallos (?), embarcation 2031. (Not in Godefroy with this meaning.) Cf. the following: *hallope* 'filet de pêche' (*Romania*, XIX, 349) and *salope*, same meaning (*Dict. Gén.*); *mariesalope*, bâtiment qui porte en mer les vases, les sables (*Dict. Gén.*); it is known that a ship and a net may be called by the same name, e.g., Fr. *gabare; saloppe*, adj. Cotgrave (1611) looks upon this word as Orléanais; Fr. *chaloupe* appears in D'Aubigné (see Littré, *Dict.*) and in Cotgrave; Eng. *shallop*. *Hallos* rimes with *partros*. *Partros* makes no sense; possibly we should read

par tros. *Tros* means 'tronçons,' 'morceaux,' 'portions' (cf. Godefroy). Here by extension of meaning 'groupes,' 'sections.' Cf. *troche* 'quantité' 'troupe.'

ham, village 2199. (Not in Godefroy.)

hanekier, équiper, mettre 1458.

harpun, objet d'ornement 3093. Cf. *N'arunt anials as deiz, ne harpuns al col mis*. *Serm. s. le jug. de Dieu* (from Godefroy who gives no definition).

hée, haîne 1948; or possibly this word may stand for *hië* or *hiée*, attaque, violence.

holgurdine(?), MS *holgurdins*, nautical term, meaning unknown 1456. Possibly the same word as *bagordinge* (*Seint Gilles*, 887) and *gurdingues* (Wace's *Brut*, 11505).

justise, juge 2304.

knivet, canif, petit couteau 347.

lof, some implement or contrivance for altering the course of a ship (from Murray's *N.E.D.*) 1378, 1454. Cf. Eng. *luff*.

mielé, doux comme le miel 1500.

molle, (?) ind. pres. 3 from inf. *moller*, mouler, faire 3559. Here possibly, by extension of meaning, 'machiner,' 'projeter.' Cf. Eng. *mull*, work mentally, cogitate (Webster's *Dict.*).

munteneis, montagnard 2120. (Not in Godefroy.) On account of *beste*, we probably should read *muntenesche*.

musceouns, (?) 347. (Not in Godefroy.) The context demands "en cachette," and this word is apparently connected with *muscier* = cacher. It may also be the same word as *musceison*, *en musceisons*, 'cachette,' 'en cachette' quoted by Godefroy, s.v. *muçoison*.

nusche, bijou, collier, boucle 3092.

partros, (?) 2032. See *hallos*.

pelfer, dérober, piller 3737; Eng. *pilfer*.

pensé de purpens pensée perfide, déloyale 1821.

perceü (?), présomptueux, immodeste, insensé 3854. MS *perasceuz*. Cf. § 8 and § 30. Also with this meaning:

> *Or pierderay le pris dont j'anoie granment,*
> *Nices et perceüs et plain de fol talent.*
> —*Chevalier au Cygne* 28151 (from Godefroy s.v. *perçoivre*).

> *Fiers et estouz et parceüz*
> —*Claris*, 8364 (from Tobler, *Verm. Beitr.*, I, 147, note).

pumpée, faste, pompe 2315. Godefroy defines: 'arrogance.'
putel, bourbier, mare 3693.

quereür, chercheur 2711.

riflei, taillis, fourré 2681; *ruflei*, 2567, 2584. Godefroy quotes *rifleïz* only. *Riflei* and *rifleïz* are doublets like *joncheïz* and *jonchei*, *ronceïz* and *roncei*.
rolle, papier, parchemin roulé; liste 3560.

selve, bois 2693.
sovenierement, MS *sovenerement* souvent, fréquemment 2874.
suchier, penser, supposer 1594, 2663.
sufoïr, creuser en-dessous 3147.

terel, cap, promontoire, terrain 1491. The Latin reads PROMONTORIUM (*Memorials*, I, 99). (Not in Godefroy.) *Terrel* and not *terral* may be the O.F. form for Fr. *terreau* (cf. *Dict. Gén.*, s.v. *terreau*).
tresvasé, éperdu, bouleversé 3659. (Not in Godefroy.) This word is found also in the *Reimpredigt*, st. 62 and in the *Modwenna* 1488c. (For discussion, cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. 74, n., 62 f.).

vezïé, prudent, rusé 1819, 3788.

welcomer, faire bon accueil 1530.

LIST OF PROPER NAMES

Aelfwine, Alfwin, English name 3892
Aieldred, Ethelred, English king 3868
Aielred, Ethelred, English king 3513
Alain, king of Armorica 159
Alemagne, 393
Aluré, Alfred, English king 3479[1]
Ambresbire, Amesbury 339 (*Mem.*, II, p. 147)
Angle, Anglia 383
Armoniche, Armorica 152
Arthur, British king 139
Athelston, Athelstan, English king 3503
Atle, Attle, English king 1565
Atleburg, Attleborough 1564

Bederichesworthe, Beodrichsworth, modern Bury 2901 (*Mem.*, I, IV)
Bederiz, Beodrich, a king 2902 (*Mem.*, I, IV, note)
Berin, *Baerin*, a son of Lothebroc 1937, 1894[2]
Bretagne 128
Bretun 136
Brut, British king 129
Bunde, a priest 3649
Bures, English town 1759

Castre, Caistor(?), a town in Norfolk 1625
Charles li Chalf, French king, 3401
Costentin, a pope 787
Cumberland 3931

Dampnedieus 523

[1] This name counts for three syllables: 3441, 3483, 3489, 3497; the Latin shows ELVEREDUS, ALUREDUS, AELFREDUS (*Mem.*, I, 28–29); Alvres counts for two syllables in Marie de France (*Fabeln*, *Epilogus*, 16) and in Wace (*Brut* 3395).

[2] The meter calls for *Bern*; cf. Latin WERN (*Mem.*, I, 102).

Daneis, the Danes, 3365
Danemarche 3917
Dieus 22

Eadred, Ethered, English king, 3361
Ealured, MS *Ealured*[1] 3505
Edgar, English king, 3507
Edmunt, *Edmun*, Saint Edmund 80, 3294
Edward, English king 3499
Edwi, English king 3506
Eliseu, the prophet Elisha 3192
Engleis, the English 177
Engletere 107
Escardeburg, Scarborough 236 (*Mem.*, II, 144)
Escoce 3905
Estangle, East-Anglia 411
Estsexe, Essex 417

Flandres 1422
France 3395
Franceis 3412
Frise, Friesland, 1411

Gainesburc, *Gheniesburc*, Gainsborough 3934, 3905
Gales, Wales 323
Galtier, French name 3890
Gernemue, Yarmouth 4004 (*Mem.*, II, 249)
Guteis, the Goths 178
Gutlande, Gothland 178

Hailesdun, English place 2175 (cf. *Corolla S. Ead.*, p. liii; *Mem.*, II, 198)
Hamtune, Southampton 386
Henge, Hengist, 327
Hors, *Horse*, Horsa 327, 343
Hospital, Knights Hospitallers of St. John 628
Hollande, Holland 1415
Hubbe, a son of Lothebroc 2088[2]
Hubert, a bishop 1763
Humbre, the river Humber or read *Northumbre* = Northumbria 391
Hunestanestun, MS *Hunstanestun* Hunstantun 1498

Jerusalem 447, 658
Jhesu Christ 448

Kanut(?), MS *Knout*,[3] English king 3987
Kadawaladre, *Kadew-*,[4] MS *Rad-*, British king 140, 145

Lefstan, a viscount 3527
Len, Lynn, 1476 (*Mem.*, II, 179)
Leofwine, English name 3891 (*Mem.*, II, 246)
Linde, a baron 397
Lindsie, MS *Lindeseie*,[5] Lindsey 395
Lothebroc, Danish invader 1880

Maidenesboure, Maidensbower, a promontory 1495
Marie [*de France*], the author of the *Lais* and *Fables* 35
Markiers, Morcar, English name 3893 (*Mem.*, II, 246)
Martin, a pope 3476
Mortimer, a prominent Anglo-Norman family 1568

Northfolk, Norfolk 417
Northumberland 3932 *Norhumbreland* 2054
Normandie 3390
Norwiz, Norwich 1721

Offe, king of East-Anglia, 441
Orefort, Orford 2100 (*Mem.*, II, 196)

[1] This name probably stands for *Eadred*, since the Latin reads EDRRED in the same passage (*Mem.*, I, 29).

[2] This name appears to count for two syllables, and so in Gaimar, *Ubbe*, 2896, 3152, 3158, and Pierre de Langtoft, *Hubba*, I, 312.

[3] In Wace's *Roman de Rou*, *Kenut* = two syllables; in Gaimar, *Cnuht* = one syllable.

[4] Latin, *Cadualladrus*; Wace's *Brut*, *Caluanders* = four syllables; Pierre de Langtoft, *Cadwaldre* = three syllables; *Le livere de reis de Brittanie*, etc., p. 40. 18, *Cadeuualadre*.

[5] In Wace and Gaimar this name counts for four syllables.

[1] The Latin reads: EDELBERTUS (*Mem.*, I, 97).

[2] This word counts for one syllable here and also in Gaimar, but for two syllables in Wace's *Roman de Rou*, *passim*.

